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NEGRO-MANIA:
BEING
AN EXAMINATION
OF THE
FALSELY ASSUMED EQUALITY
OF THE
VARIOUS RACES OF MEN;

Demonstrated by the Investigations of

**CHAMPOLLION, WILKINSON, ROSELLINI, VAN-AMRINGE, OLIDDON,
YOUNG, MORTON, KNOX, LAWRENCE, GEN. J. H. HAMMOND,
MURRAY, SMITH, W. GILMORE SIMMS, ENGLISH, CONRAD,
ELDER, PRICHARD, BLUMENBACH, CUVIER, BROWN,
LE VAILLANT, CARLYLE, CARDINAL WISEMAN,
BURCKHARDT, AND JEFFERSON.**

**TOGETHER WITH A CONCLUDING CHAPTER, PRESENTING A COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF THE CONDITION
OF THE NEGROES IN THE WEST INDIES BEFORE AND SINCE EMANCIPATION.**

BY JOHN CAMPBELL,
**AUTHOR OF "A THEORY OF EQUALITY," "LECTURES UPON THE GREAT
FRENCH REVOLUTION," "AN EXAMINATION OF THE ENG-
LISH CORN AND PROVISION LAWS," &c. &c. &c.**

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NEGROMANIA.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

THAT there are various races of men now upon our globe, none will deny. These are composed of black, white, brown, yellow, fair, Caucasian, Mongolian, Malay, Indian, Negro, Saxon, Celtic, Sclavonic, Australian, Tasmanian, Gipsey, Jew, Arab, Copt, Nubian, with an endless variety. The most arbitrary distinctions have been made to endeavor to classify the races of man: one asserts that all are descended from one pair, another entirely dissents from this view, all are equal says the ignorant fanatic, negroes and red men as well as whites. It seems to me therefore a work not only of necessity but of justice, to place this matter in a compact method before the people of America.

The method I have adopted is very simple. I cite all that I deem of importance to the subject under investigation, from an author; and then, if I consider it necessary, I comment upon such passages as may need explanation. To me it matters little whether the public will receive the contents of the following pages favorably or otherwise. It will be all one a hundred years hence.

I do not profess any originality, but I lay claim to some tact in the arrangement of my quotations.

When I consider how little is really known of the history of the races of men, when I know that it would take hundreds of dollars to purchase all the books that I have read upon the subject, and when I also know that but few poor men have the means of obtaining these books, I therefore have attempted to popularize this question by citing such portions of the best authors as have written upon it.

I may as well explain the reasons which induced me to arrange my ideas in the following manner:—

I am a member of the Social Improvement Society of Philadelphia. A question was brought before it for discussion, of which the following is a transcript: 'Can the Colored races of men be made mentally, politically and socially equal with the white?' The discussion of this question was continued for eight successive Sunday evenings. The speakers were various and talented; among the most prominent, were Eugene Ahern, E. W. Power, B. F. Mayers, Robert Boyle, Thomas Phillips, John O'Byrne, James Eddison, Wm. Brotherhead, Ralph Smith, whites; — Bower, — Purvis, Rev. Mr. Ward, colored; all shades of color were permitted to participate, each speaker was allowed ten minutes at a time, the greatest latitude, and I may say longitude, were allowed to the disputants, every shade of authority was quoted. I grant in many instances not too learnedly. A Doctor Longshore also lectured during the discussion. I myself lectured upon it, at the termination of the debate; in about two weeks afterwards, a Mr. Johnson, a mulatto, lectured in the Franklin Hall, upon the same subject; the por-

tions taken by Mr. Johnson were, that the ancient Egyptians were negroes, and that they were the originators of the arts and sciences. The discussion and lectures were carried on in the Franklin Hall, and were attended by about nine hundred or one thousand persons. The only lectures which were not free to criticism were Mr. Johnson's. The Social Improvement Society acts thus—any man of ability can have its rostrum to speak one hour upon such subject as he chooses, but he must allow one hour's discussion after his lecture.

I may remark that the Social Improvement Society is not answerable for any opinion expressed in the following pages. I know that there are many members, who conscientiously differ from me upon this as well as upon other subjects, but there each and all of us have adopted the idea of Jefferson that it is only by fair and free discussion that truth will ever be able to overcome falsehood; let us therefore take the motto of the apostle "prove all things, hold fast that what is good;" "*Fiat justitia ruat cælum.*"

The arguments I heard uttered by the different speakers afforded me the idea of offering my views in a more connected manner to the public, in a written form, than I did orally before the audiences in the Franklin Hall.

The question as above stated, to wit: "can the colored races of men be made mentally, politically and socially equal with the white?" I mean to examine in the course of this book and by citing such authorities as to me appear the best acquainted with ethnology endeavor to counteract the

sickly sentimentalism, the maudlin philosophy and pseudo philanthropy, oft times amounting to treason either through the folly or wickedness of the men who advocate negro-ology.

The great advocate of the equality of races is Prichard. He sat down to his task predetermined in favor of the negro and of the colored races of men—"Grant me a place said Archimedes to set my lever and I will move the world."—"Grant me my premises says Prichard, and I will draw deductions to prove the verity of these premises." This Mr. Prichard can do; this any man can do; there is no difficulty in the matter at all.

I follow no theory. I adopt no one's views in particular, it is only when I find one author corroborating another that I adopt their positions.

I take it for granted that no dark race of men has ever been equal to a white race.—Equal numbers ceteris paribus, the dark race must submit to the fair, the two cannot exist together in the same community on terms of equality—I speak not here of the justice or injustice of the matter, I only speak of the fact! the whole history of the world proves it. It is an actual fact, a truth, a reality, as it was five thousand years ago so was it four and three and and two and one thousand years ago—so is it to day, that the dark race had always to yield to the superior intellect of the white—never at any given time from the most infinitely remote antiquity until now, has there ever appeared a race of negroes, that is men with woolly heads, flat noses, thick and protruding lips, who has ever emerged from a state of

ms. framed

savageism or barbarism, to even a demi civilization—Look to the West Indies, to Brazil, to Australia, to the Gold Coast, to Zanguebar, to Congo, to Senegambia, to Ashantee, nay to the civilization under his imperial highness Faustin the first Emperor of Hayti, and answer me, ye Garrisons and Phillipses and Burleys and Folsoms and Smiths, what has this race done in five thousand years?”

Let us now carefully scan the flimsy arguments offered to our notice by the advocates of *negro equality*. The first argument is “that the negroes never have had an opportunity to develop themselves because the white man has always oppressed them.”

They forget that the latter portion of this proposition refutes the former. If the white man has always oppressed the negro, it goes to establish the fact claimed by me that the white man is mentally superior, because, if the white has been always powerful enough to debar the negro from improving his intellect, it establishes the complete force of my views—“That no amount of education or training can ever make the negro equal in intellect with the white;” “knowledge is power,” and it is evident to all, that under no circumstance has the negro race ever been able to compete with the white.

We see around us in every direction, evidences of the fact that the negro is naturally inferior to the white; but it is unfair to institute comparisons where this race is held in bondage by the white.—We will give them all the advantage of a fair examination. We will travel to that quarter of the globe which seems to be the native land of this

race, and to which they appear to be indigenous.— We will go where the white man has never oppressed this race.

Monumental ruins of Dahomey forty ages do not look down upon you. Strewn columns of Ashantee where shall we find you, and echo answers where? Decaying towers of Zanguebar shall any traveller ever discover thy nameless and undiscovered and undiscoverable foundations. Sculptured temples of Guinea what hierologist shall ever be able to decipher thy extinguished hieroglyphics— what future Pickwickian antiquarian shall ever ascend to the pinnacle of fame, by translating the negro cabalistic letters of “bil stumps his mark.”

Let us have one great negro to redeem a whole race from the universally acknowledged fact, that the brand mark of inferiority has been indelibly, irrevocably, irretrievably, and eternally impressed by the Creator upon the negro, and that nothing can erase or obliterate it. Inferiority marks him as her own in the United States, in Brazil, &c.

I said before, if only one great negro name could be produced to redeem a whole race, that I will retract all I have ever said against negro inferiority,—but this one only name, this rara avis, this white black-bird, this phoenix is not forthcoming, “you cannot make a silk purse out of a sow’s lug,” is an old and homely adage, but not the less true, so can you not make any thing from a negro but negroism, which means barbarism and inferiority.

Greatness indeed in a pure negro, where, when and how did it manifest itself? What woolly-head-

ed Homers, Virgils, Dantes, Molieres, or Shakespeares ever inscribed their names upon the pillar of fame, by the numbers of immortal song? What woolly-headed Xenophons, Tacituses, Gibbons, Voltaires, Humes and Bancrofts ever depicted the actions of woolly-headed heroes, patriots and soldiers? What woolly-headed Epaminondases, Cæsars, Alexanders, Washingtons, Napoleons and Wellingtons ever led their marshalled battalions upon the principles of military science to either liberty, victory, or death? What woolly-headed Solons, or Numas, or Alfreds, or Jeffersons, ever framed a code of laws to direct and guide the destinies of a great nation? What woolly-headed Demostheneses, or Ciceros, or Mirabeaus, or Sheridans, or Calhouns, or Bentons, or Clays ever delighted and electrified vast masses of woolly-headed men with their eloquence? What woolly-headed Euclids, or Archimedeses, or Laplaces, or Gallileos, or Herschels, or Newtons ever investigated the truths of astronomical and mathematical sciences? What woolly-headed Cuviers, Humboldts, Davys and Audubons ever explored the animal and mineral kingdoms? What woolly-headed Watses, Arkwrights, or Fultons ever attempted to invent a machine of iron, wood, or brass to supercede the labor of woolly-headed men? What woolly-headed Columbuses, or Hudsons, or Drakes ever ventured across the wide wilderness of waters in search of distant, unknown and undiscovered continents? In fine, have the woolly-headed races of men ever produced one, even only one man famous as either a lawgiver, statesman, poet, priest, painter, histo-

rian, orator, architect, musician, soldier, sailor, engineer, navigator, astronomer, linguist, mathematician, anatomist, chemist, physician, naturalist, or philosopher; if they have, let us know his name, where he was born, and when he flourished, the works he wrote, and where, when and how he died.

My motives are to write for that great mass of our citizens who are unable to obtain all the authors for themselves, who have written upon this subject, by making such a selection as will form a text book for white men upon the subject of negromania. I propose to devote a particular chapter to Herodotus, and shall then ask what reliance can be placed upon his authority.

The idea that the negro race ever civilized Egypt, is now exploded among learned men, but we have among us persons who spurn at history, who laugh at nature, who sneer at reason, and who say that "the negro is one of God's creatures, and is therefore equal to the white." Why so are elephants, and dogs, and monkeys, and rattlesnakes God's creatures; but does any body ever compare any of these in intellect to even the negro, and yet there is as much difference between the lowest tribe of negroes and the white Frenchman, Englishman, or American, as there is between the monkey and the negro. All animated things are God's creatures, but certainly it does not follow that all are equally intelligent; that there is a regular chain in nature, from the granite rock to the highest order of intellect in the white race, is now generally acknowledged. To follow inanimate matter through its gradations up to ani-

mate, is neither my intention or object, but I wish the reader to trace the geological formations of the earth up to that point where the vegetable kingdom commences, then trace the vegetable kingdom to the zoophyte, the connecting link in the chain between the vegetable and animal kingdoms, then trace the animal kingdom up through reptiles, fishes, beasts, until he arrives at man, can he not distinctly recognize the gradations of intellect, and finally trace the various races of man from the lowest order of the negro race to the most intellectual Caucasian. All we can do is to admire the wonderful mechanism of the harmonious whole, and pay our adoration to its incomprehensible and omnipotent Creator.

I do not say one word concerning the question of slavery, that is entirely foreign to the nature of my book. In the recent discussion upon negro equality, I broadly asserted the fact, that there is not one white in fifty thousand who believe in such a revolting and infamous doctrine, and I frequently dared all the speakers to say if any one of them were satisfied to give his child in marriage to a negro. I need hardly say that such a challenge was not accepted. How I loathe that hypocrisy which claims the same mental, moral, and physical equality for the negro which the whites possess.

Time nor circumstance nor climate affect not the negro race, all nature forbids an amalgamation between them and the Caucasians. Nature tolerates not hybrids, or mules, or mulattoes. It is clearly proven that a race between the three typical stocks, can only be maintained by a continual drain upon

a parent stock. There is one great difficulty, and to my mind an insurmountable one, which is, that the advocates of the negro civilization of Egypt do not attempt to account for, how this civilization was lost. We know that the white never loses, but always gains. A nation or tribe of the white race may become extinct, from a variety of causes, but the civilization of the race progresses notwithstanding. Egypt progressed, and why, because it was Caucasian. Egypt fell, but its civilization was transferred, made more perfect, in the land of Marathon. Greece, in its turn, decayed as a nation, but not so its learning, it was transferred to Rome, and an increase added to the original stock. The sun of Rome's greatness, grandeur and glory set, but not its classic lore, it was preserved, extended and ramified among the Caucasian race in France, in England, in Germany, in Italy, and in America.—It is the nature of the white to progress, this appears to be the fact from all history, from all experience, and from all nature.

CHAPTER II.

HERODOTUS.

As it is always right to discriminate upon the nature of the evidence from the character of a witness in a court of justice, so is it equally fair to criticise the writings of a historian, to see if he relates what is both probable and possible. Whenever we find an author prone to narrate the improbable and marvellous as being not only true facts and veritable transactions, but furthermore, that he relates these from a personal knowledge of his own, then are we justified in severely criticising all that such authors speak of, and only pay any credit to their assertions, when not contrary to the laws of nature, and when such assertions are confirmed by the testimony of cotemporary and subsequent authors and investigators.

A case of this kind is now for consideration before us. It has been said, that "Herodotus is the Father of History." If by this is meant that his veracity can be depended upon in his relations of facts, he is certainly unworthy of the title; if it is meant that he is merely the first writer, then his title is correct. Herodotus existed about four hundred and thirty years before Christ, or about one hundred years before the time of the great Macedonian. Herodotus travelled into Egypt, and says, that "The Egyptians were black in complexion and woolly-headed." How far he is to be credited, must be a question for the readers of this

book to determine for themselves, but before I proceed to cite authority against the statement of Herodotus, I will give a couple of quotations from himself, in order that a due estimate may be placed upon him. In his *Euterpe* are to be found the following, among a great mass of similar rubbish :—
“The inhabitants become black from excessive heat.” In page 121, Bohn’s edition, is this—

“The following is the nature of the crocodile.—During the four coldest months it eats nothing, and though it has four feet, it is amphibious. It lays its eggs on land, and there hatches them. It spends the greater part of the day on the dry ground, but the whole night in the river; for the water is then warmer than the air and dew. Of all living things with which we are acquainted, this, from the least beginning, grows to be the largest. For it lays eggs little larger than those of a goose, and the young is at first in proportion to the egg; but when grown up, it reaches to the length of seventeen cubits, and even more. It has the eyes of a pig, large teeth, and projecting tusks, in proportion to the body: it is the only animal that has no tongue: it does not move the lower jaw, but is the only animal that brings down its upper jaw to the under one. It has strong claws, and a skin covered with scales, that cannot be broken on the back. It is blind in the water, but very quick-sighted on land; and because it lives for the most part in the water, its mouth is filled with leeches.”

Again, p. 174 :—“The Persians, having marched through the arid region, halted near the Egyptians,

as if with the design of engaging ; there the auxiliaries of the Egyptians, consisting of Greeks and Carians, condemning Phanes because he had led a foreign army against Egypt, adopted the following expedient against him : Phanes had left his sons in Egypt ; these they brought to the camp, within sight of their father, and placed a bowl midway between the two armies, then dragging the children one by one, they slew them over the bowl. When they slaughtered all the children, they poured wine and water into the bowl, and, after all the auxiliaries had drank of the blood, they immediately joined battle. A hard battle having been fought, and when great numbers had fallen on both sides, the Egyptians were put to flight. Here I saw a very surprising fact, which the people of the country informed me of. For as the bones of those who were killed in that battle lie scattered about separately, (for the bones of the Persians lay apart in one place, as they did at first, and those of the Egyptians in another,) the skulls of the Persians were so weak, that if you should hit them only with a single pebble, you would break a hole in them ; whereas those of the Egyptians are so hard, that you could scarcely fracture them by striking them with a stone. The cause of this, they told me, is as follows, and I readily assented ; that the Egyptians begin from childhood and shave their heads, and the bone is thickened by exposure to the sun : from the same cause also they are less subject to baldness, for one sees fewer persons bald in Egypt than in any other country. This, then, is the cause of

their having such strong skulls : and the reason why the Persians have weak skulls is this : they shade them from the first, wearing tiaras for hats. Now, I myself saw that such was the case ; and I also observed the same thing at Papremis, with respect to those who were slain with Achæmenes, son of Darius, by Inarus the Libyan."

GLIDDON.

" The works of HERODOTUS and DIODORUS are too familiar to general readers, to require much more than designation. The former was in Egypt about 430 years B. C., during the dominion of the Persians, and after Egypt had fallen entirely from her pristine greatness. The latter was in Egypt in 40 B. C., toward the close of the Ptolemaic Dynasty, at a still lower period of degradation.

" Valuable, as are the works of these two Greek authors, they have fallen very considerably in our estimation, since *Egypt as a country*, and the *ancient Egyptians as a people* have become better known to us ; and the inconsistencies, mis-statements, misrepresentations, misconceptions and absurdities, that are hourly exposed in their accounts of Egypt, more than compensate for the information, in which, by accident, they are correct. This assertion may seem audacious ; but will be substantiated in the sequel, when a comparison is instituted between Egyptian history, as developed in these chapters and future lectures, and the accounts of Herodotus or Diodorus.

" It would require a volume to elucidate the dis-

crepancies, now demonstrable, between many, nay most of the assertions of Herodotus and Diodorus, in regard to almost every subject relating to *ancient* Egypt; and the facts, with which we are made acquainted, in the works of the whole Champollion school. Nor, in common fairness, must my assertions be doubted, until an antagonist shall have actually verified in Champollion, Rosellini and Wilkinson, some of the points in which Greek authors are shown to be so lamentably ignorant. I will, however, add the following reasons, gleaned chiefly from long personal acquaintance with Egypt, to show that it was not in the nature of things that Herodotus or Diodorus could be often correct.

“In the first place, Herodotus, though a learned and highly respectable *Greek*, and who, as the greatest of their ancient travellers and universal historians, deserves our respect and gratitude, was in Egypt, a stranger. He was certainly not in literary, or scientific, or fashionable, or aristocratic society in that country; which he visited, after intercourse with the Greeks, and the Persian conquest had ruined the former greatness of the higher castes, and had corrupted the inhabitants of Lower Egypt, with whom Herodotus chiefly mixed. For his own sake, we must hope he did not (although he says he did, as far as the first cataract) visit *Upper* Egypt, else he would not have left Thebes undescribed; or have listened to the idle tale, that the sources of the Nile were at *Elephantine*!

“In his day, 500 years of decline had deteriorated the Priest-caste, the only depositaries of history in

Egypt. As a foreigner, Herodotus was looked upon by the sinking aristocracy of Egypt in the light of an "impure gentile;" and utterly ignorant of the language, he must have gleaned all his information through an interpreter. If, as we have a full right to do, we judge of Herodotus's interpreter by those of travellers in modern times, the result with respect to the *sort* of information he could receive through such a medium, may well be imagined. Nay, it is proved, by his mistakes upon almost every Egyptian subject which he handles in Euterpe.

"Like some English and other modern writers, who compose volumes on that misrepresented country, that are like Hodges' razors, only made to *sell*, Herodotus prepared his work to read at the Olympic games to a Grecian audience, more ignorant in those days on Egyptian affairs, than even Europeans of modern times are generally; and it was necessary to interlard his discourse with occasional fabrications, some of which will scarceley bear the dubious phrase of "*Se non è vero, è ben trovato*."

"Diodorus was in Egypt just before the downfall of the house of Lagus, in B. C. 40, when the decline of Egyptian learning had been going on for 700 years—400 of which had been spent under the yoke of foreign masters. Diodorus copied Herodotus, and Hecatæus of Miletus, who had visited and written on Egypt, in the reign of Darius; and, perhaps the later work of Hecatæus of Abdera, who was in Egypt after Alexander; and who, from the little we know of him, appears to have been an intelligent man, although, to the Egyptians, all of them were

naught but "impure foreigners"—so termed in hieroglyphical legends by the Egyptians; in the same manner, that foreign nations are, to this day, in China, termed "outside barbarians." Other information was imbibed by Diodorus, from Greeks in Lower Egypt; whose profound ignorance of Egyptian learning is only exceeded by their indifference, their stupid self-complacency and egregious impudence. It will not be pretended that Diodorus could speak Egyptian.

"There is so little dependence to be placed on the accounts of Herodotus or Diodorus, excepting on what they actually saw with their own eyes, or could comprehend from its nature when they saw it, that, by hieroglyphists their narratives are followed only in the absence of better guides; or, when their accounts are confirmed by other testimony. They could not discriminate between the truth or falsehood of the things that were told them; and often the only way of accounting for the nonsense they often record, is to suppose, that the humorous Egyptians purposely misled them. We have to thank them however for putting *all* down; leaving us the task of culling the pearls from the rubbish; for there is no doctrine, however inconsistent or improbable, that cannot be supported by *quotations* from Herodotus or Diodorus.

"Let any stranger at the present day, through the medium of an interpreter ask the most intelligent native in the Delta, a question about modern Nubia, and its present relations with Egypt: and the answer will be a fable, modelled into the form the Felláh

deems most likely to be pleasing to the stranger, if he does not confess his utter ignorance thereon ; a candor rare in the valley of the Nile, and possibly elsewhere.

“ We must not merely look at the authority, but at the authority’s resources and qualifications for information, no less than at the nature of the sources whence he could acquire that information. It would surprise any one to read descriptions of Egypt in some modern works (published since Champollion’s discoveries,) and then go to Cairo and ask old residents their opinions thereon.

“ The authority of Herodotus and Diodorus on *ancient Egyptian*, and still more on *ancient Ethiopian* questions, distant 1000 miles from the provinces they visited (the epochs of the occurrence of which, date from 2000 to 3000 years before they were in Egypt,) is of about the same value, as would be the authority of some modern travellers of the last half century, whose puerile information about even modern Cairo would be derived during a fortnight’s residence, from an Arab Rais, or captain, a donkey-driver, or a European hotel-keeper! Ask any of these last, about events which took place in Egypt only 500 years ago !

“ Travellers, therefore, who go beyond the *first* impressions they receive, are liable to err, if they attempt, without time and adequate study, to explain even what they behold.

“ That information must be incorrect which is solely derived from a village Arab Shèykh, or Turkish Nazir, on events whereon it is impossible

these can possess any information—and which, in either case, is given to the traveller, ignorant of Arabic, through the medium of a stupid rascal, who, because he can jabber a few words of English, waits at table and cleans your shoes, is dignified by the inapplicable and inappropriate title of “dragoman” or interpreter. Let me ask have not Americans just reason to complain of the cursory notes of English travellers, taken, during a railroad and steamboat trip, through the United States? Yet, in this case the traveller speaks the same language as the nation, through whose country he whirls like an ‘ignis-fatuus.’

“Judge then how incompetent must that traveller be, in a foreign land, unacquainted with the language of the natives, when he inquires of unlettered Felláhs, or of European freshmen, about events that transpired thousands of years before his visit; and yet, such was precisely the position of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, in Egypt.

“If, therefore, my own assertions differ from those met with in works of any epoch, not written by disciples of the Champollion school, the reader will be so indulgent as to make some allowance for diversities of opinion, between one who knows a country from 23 years of domicile and many years of critical investigation, and others, whose sojourn therein rarely equalled the same number of *months*, generally fell within the same number of *weeks*, and often did not exceed the same number of *days*.

“When Herodotus or Diodorus are quoted upon subjects, which we can prove they *could* learn little

or nothing about, it is of no great consequence what inference may be derived from their conclusions; because the well informed hierologists have better sources of information; and may draw inferences from *existing* monuments and Egyptian autochthon chronicles, which gave them, in 1843, an infinitely superior knowledge of early Egypt (dating 2000 years before the earliest Greek historian) than could be acquired by, or was known to, the Greeks, or the Romans; whose testimony may be very often useful, but it is not evidence.

“All authors who wrote on Egypt and Ethiopia, before the discoveries of Champollion, or without a thorough perusal of the works of his school, are liable to error on subjects *now perfectly understood*; and, in the present year, 1843, for a man to write on *ancient* Egypt, without first making himself really acquainted with what in the last 20 years has been done by the Champollions, by Rosellini, by Wilkinson and all the hieroglyphical students, is to act “the play of Hamlet, the part of *Hamlet* being left out by particular desire.” Suppose an *Egyptian* were to write a history of the United States; and to make a rule of never consulting one *American* author, while treating on American institutions, systems of government, manners and customs, annals or personages; what sort of a book would he write? and what opinion would the citizens of the United States have of his one-sided and narrow-minded production, teeming, as it necessarily would, with nonsense, errors and misrepresentation! And yet, it is a deed in absurdity precisely parallel for any one, in 1843,

to write on *ancient* Egypt, without ascertaining first what its ancient inhabitants *record of themselves*.

“ We have now, however, indisputable evidence of the Asiatic origin and Caucasian race of the earliest denizens of the Nile ; and can smile at the long-asserted descent of civilization from *Ethiopia*, (that unknown land of fable) or, at the idea of its origin among any *African* tribe. This will be made clear in the sequel ; and this fact will remove a host of dilemmas, by tracing Hebrews and Egyptians to a probably-simultaneous departure from their common Asiatic hive.

“ It is our part now to prove, that not time, nor circumstance, nor climate, effected any palpable change, or physical alteration, in their progeny ; and that Ham’s lineal descendants, the Egyptians, were all pure blooded Caucasians, from the earliest to the latest Pharaonic epoch—modified in the Upper Nilotic provinces by the admixture of exotic Austro-Egyptian (that is, as Dr. Morton explains, by compound Semitico-Hindoo and equally Caucasian) blood ; and this was strictly the fact, except in incidental and individual intermixture with the African races of Berbers and Negroes in those provinces to Ethiopia adjacent. This latter commingling, however, appears to **have** but partially affected the gross of Egyptian population of Asiatic origin ; and to have been no more visible, (probably still less so) among the Pharaonic Egypto-Caucasian family, than it is now discernible among the Felláhs, of the lower and middle provinces of the present day.

“ As Mizraim and his children were all Caucasians

at first start, in order to change their skins from white to black, their hair to wool, and to alter their osteology, "through the effects of *climate*," time at least must be allowed. Who will define the necessary period for these radical changes? Never mind—we grant every facility. Let countless generations transpire. Let them become Negroes, or Berbers, in race. Let them reach the acme of civilization. Let them surpass Dahomey; outrival Ashantee; become as intellectual as Hottentots—as philanthropical as Tuaricks—as constructive as Tibboos. Let them build the pyramids of Meroe, Gebel Birkal, and Noori—which done, let them come down the Nile again, to build the pyramids of Memphis and cover Egypt with stupendous structures; a perfect, and essentially a civilized community; to confirm Herodotus, and his Egyptian applications, of *μελάγχροες και ούλο τριχες* "black in complexion, and woolly-haired" to be called also *Μελαμποδων*—"the black-footed;" or more appropriately, "the long-heeled race." On their arrival in Lower Egypt, the Delta, of course, is no longer a marsh; and having waited for its formation, they cover it with cities.

"Let them, I repeat, perform *all* of these impossibilities, and then they are no longer Africans in Egypt. A miracle (of which we have no record) has metamorphosed them again into Caucasians.

"It does seem odd, if not unnecessary, to make the Asiatic and Caucasian Mizraimites at once proceed up the Nile, 1500 miles to Meroe; there to study and improve and sojourn, until the wonderful effects of climate should transmute them into Africans;

and then, after countless generations, to lead them back into Egypt, and there witness their transition into pure white men, in a climate where no Ethiopian ever changed his skin!

“And we must make all these changes in far less than one thousand years: that is, we start with Ham and Mizraim as Caucasians; we transport them from Assyria into Ethiopia, and watch their transition into Negroes, or Berbers, by the effects of climate, and under the vaguest extent of time: we perfect them as such, and doat upon the sable or dusky philosophers, who are to instruct Moses, and civilize the Greeks. We then bring them back into Egypt, and by magic as it were, transmute these Negroes or Berbers, again into pure white men, or Caucasians, such as every Egyptian was. We must accomplish all this between Mizraim and Abraham—in a space of about 100 years, by the Hebrew version: of about 500 by the Septuagint. On Egyptian monuments (as I shall prove by facsimile copies) we find the Negro and the Berber, painted prior to 1500, B. C., as perfectly distinct from the Egyptian natives, as an Anglo-Saxon is from a Chimpansee. If four thousand years have not had the slightest effect in whitening Negroes, how much change of color could have been accomplished in one-eighth of the time?

“What should we say, if such a doctrine were maintained in defiance of Scripture, of nature, and of fact? We should disdain to regard such nonsense; and yet such is precisely the course we must pursue, if Ham be the father of the Egyptians, and the

Egyptians descended the Nile from Ethiopia into Egypt. Such is precisely what must have occurred, if we believe Herodotus, Diodorus, and their Roman plagiarists; and such is, in fine, the analysis of the Ethiopian origin of the Egyptians, if we pretend to believe the Bible. I will cast ethnography to the winds; I will discard chronology as a dream; but even then, I confess my inability to comprehend, or to accept, such a tissue of absurdities, if not profanations.

“The Scriptures inform us, that Mizraim came from the banks of the Euphrates into Africa, and that his descendants colonized Lower Egypt.

“To bring the ancestors of the Egyptians from Ethiopia, leads to consequences irreconcilable with primeval biblical migrations. Ham and his son were indisputably Caucasians—to find, therefore, that their Egyptian descendants were Caucasians also, is perfectly in accordance with nature, and with Scripture.

“Lower Egypt and the Delta, would naturally be the region most suited to agriculture; and contrary again to the general current of opinion, it was here that the earliest Egyptians settled—it was here, that the most ancient cities arose—and here, that the most ancient monumental piles still remain, to attest the correctness of the assertion.

“The erection, in Lower Egypt, of the most ancient monuments we encounter, does not at all impede the migration of the Caucasian race, at a very early period into the Thebaid, or even as far as Meroe; nor is the inferior relative antiquity of those vast

edifices, that proudly demand, for Thebes, and the Thebaid, an age nearly parallel to those of Lower Egypt, devoid of explanation on other grounds; but, it is an indisputable fact, since the application of the Champollion tests to any of the ruins in the Nilotic valley, that the most ancient vestiges preserved to us *lie north*; and the earliest extant are the Memphite pyramids; while those found to the southward, are comparatively more recent; with the doubtful exception of the pyramids of Meroe in Ethiopia, which will be attended to in due course.

“In the interval previous to the accession of Menes, and subsequent to the dispersion of mankind from Shinar, must that wandering tribe of Caucasians, who settled permanently in the valley of the Nile, have entered Egypt from Asia; and although we possess not the slightest account of the time, beyond that of its occurrence between Noah and Abraham, and none of the mode in which this march must have taken place, from Assyria into Egypt; yet, the fact of the Asiatic origin, and Caucasian race of the early Egyptians being declared in the Bible, and proved by anatomy, with monumental and historical corroborations; it may be desirable to inquire how far geographical facilities smoothed their path, and whether topographical circumstances, in connection with localities in Egypt, admit of and confirm their introduction.

“According to the facts, set forth in Morton’s ‘*Crania Ægyptiaca*,’ we find the Caucasians occupying Egypt, at the remotest time we can descry; and any errors unintentionally committed in specu-

lating upon the road they took from the Asiatic continent to Egypt, will not affect the fact of their journey.

“Whether their progress was slow, such as a pastoral people (we may infer they were at that primeval time) encumbered with families and flocks, would necessarily adopt; or whether it was the rapid march of men driven by political convulsions, or family feuds to seek safety in countries remote from their first origin, are questions in themselves hypothetical, though the former speculation has most of probability. Whether their migration, from east to west, was anterior or posterior to the dispersion of Babel, I leave others to determine; in either case, we may recognise the all-wise hand of Providence, accomphshing by natural instruments, and according to immutable organic laws, the object of man’s creation. Whether, prior to their entry, they possessed any information concerning the fertility and salubrity of that smiling valley-land, whereon the “sacred Nile” by its periodical inundations, spreads its rich alluvium, must ever remain doubtful.

“That they had their women with them is certain; as they preserved their blood, pure and intact, from amalgamation with African aborigines; excepting, in partial instances, of much later times, proceeding from very natural causes, and affecting mainly those provinces which were adjacent to these Africans; but no more influencing the mass of population in Lower and Middle Egypt, at any period, than is apparent, or usual, as I have before remarked, with

the present Fellàh and Arab inhabitants of these districts at this day.

“The simplest view of the case would lead one to infer, that, in proportion as the increase of human and animal population rendered the area of Assyria too limited for the peaceful attainment of a sufficiency of food, small parties, offsets from the patriarchal tree, wandered, like the Bedaweess of the present day, pasturing their cattle in search of forage, along the valleys of Palestine. The vanguard of these nomads, pushed forward constantly by the advance of later separations from the main body, or induced by other contingences, which we may conjecture, but cannot define, crossed the small desert, which even at the present day, in winter, offers every facility for similar migrations, and reached the valley of the Nile, somewhere in the vicinity of Pelusium.

“Once in the land of Goshen, it may be readily imagined, whoever came the first would not be long in inviting his friends and relations to join him (and to sojourn permanently) in, what must have been to a herdsman, as it is the present day to the agriculturist, a terrestrial paradise. Similar causes always produce similar effects. Population increased, and migration continued, until every atom of the then alluvial soil between the deserts of Suez and of Lybia, and from the sea beach to that extreme point, where an African climate becomes mortiferous to the white man (which region commences about the 16th degree of latitude in Ethiopia above Egypt,) was colonized by the Asiatic Caucasians;

and, in those remote countries, by their intermixed decendants. As population increased, the herdsman was forced, by interest, and want of pasture room, to become a farmer ; and the first spade struck into the yielding black mud of the receding Nile, was the first step toward that civilization and power which, for 2000 years, made Egypt the greatest country of the earth.

“I deem it requisite only to allude to the prevalent, but erroneous notion of the African origin of the ancient Egyptians, in so far as to express my disbelief of the possibility, that the Caucasian route from Asia to Egypt, could have lain, in those primeval times, across the Red Sea, at the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, or higher up. Let any one look at the map, and measure the distance from Assyria to Meroe, by that road—let him pause and consider the vast geographical obstructions to be encountered in Arabia : the time it would take to overcome them; **and** then let him consider the little chronological **space** we have for the events that occurred in Egypt between Mizraim and Abraham ; and allow, that without overthrowing Scripture, this doctrine cannot be maintained.

“From Assyria and the plains of Shinar, even at this day (aside from human insurmountable difficulties) the journey through Arabia across the Red Sea, into Abyssina, over the deserts of Catareff, to Meroe, and thence down the Nile, 1600 miles, to Lower Egypt and the sea-board, would be almost impossible to a family accompanied by children and by flocks. It may be objected, that this migration

was not immediate, but may have occupied ages. In that case, my reply is, that their journey must have been rapid, and accomplished within a few years; or we must reject even the septuagint chronology as insufficient. To pass over the Red Sea with flocks and large family incumbrances, implies *vessels*; whence could they obtain timber on the western Arabian coast? how procure materials for naval construction and outfit, in those primeval times?

“A mere glance at the map of Abyssinia will present obstacles, after their supposititious arrival on the western shore of the Red Sea, to render their progress toward Meroe and Ethiopia, anything but desirable; nor is there any point, whereon the advocates of the African theory can hang a reasonable hypothesis, since the results obtained by Dr. Morton, and detailed in his ‘*Crania Ægyptiaca*.’

“Asiatic in their origin, springing from the same stock as Shem and Japheth, and Caucasian in their osteological conformation, the Egyptians were white men, of no darker hue than a pure Arab, a Jew, or a Phœnician; and it is quite as justifiable, and equally reasonable, to draw the dusky and the sable inhabitants of Africa from Shem, the type of the Hebrews and the Arabs; or from Japheth, the type of the Europeans, as to derive the Berbers and the Negroes from Ham, whom Scripture tells us was the parent of the Egyptians; and as such, Ham must have been an Asiatic and Caucasian, since we know positively, that his Egyptian decendants were Caucasians, as pure-blooded in origin as ourselves.

“The climate of Egypt will never change a Caucasian into a Negro, a black into a white man; and we have yet to learn what effect climate may have had, in every other latitude, on the physical organization of man, on the material variation of his hair and skin, or on his osteological and craniological conformation.

“How the real African aborigines—the Berbers and the Negroes, were disseminated over Ethiopia and Nigritia, is foreign to my discourse, nor do I presume to offer an hypothesis.

“It does not seem possible (although the men are excellent swimmers) that they, and still less their females and children, swam across the red sea! and, if it be necessary to import these African races from the Asiatic hive, the same reasons which render the Isthmus of Suez the route the most natural to the Caucasian children of Ham, may likewise have served for the ancestors of the Berbers and the Negroes.

“Equally unnecessary does it seem, to speculate whether Egypt was inhabited by any or by what tribe of man, at the period of Mizraim’s immigration; because such a speculation would imply the possibility of the existence of other people at the time of Noah’s descent from the ark—a supposition hitherto irreconcilable with all we learn from Scripture. These are problems still insoluble by human reason—their results, such as are developed to us, point out the miraculous ordinations of the Creator without unfolding his inscrutable ways—and I again repeat, there is no more biblical reason or au-

thority to derive the Negroes from Ham, than from Shem or Japheth; and if climate is to have effected the change, the same causes must have produced the same effects, operating on the same physical principles; so that it is just as probable that the Caucasian Shem, or the Caucasian Japheth was the parent of African races, as the Caucasian Ham, whose children the Egyptians, were like their father and his blood-brothers, Asiatics and Caucasians

“Finally, it seems more natural, that a tribe, coming from Asia and adopting Egypt as its resting-place, should have entered that country by the route which, from the earliest times, has been the high road of nations between the Asiatic and African continents. It was by the Isthmus of Suez that the Hykshos, the Scythian shepherd kings of remote antiquity, came and were expelled; this Isthmus was likewise the beaten road of the Hebrews, from Abraham to the Exodus, as it is at the present day between Jerusalem and Egypt. It served the Egyptians under the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies, as the route for their military expeditions and for all commercial intercourse with Asia.

“The Persians, under Cambyses and Artaxerxes Ochus, Alexander with his Macedonian phalanx, the Saracens under Aámer, and the Ottomans under Sooltan Seleem, used it as their undeviating highway into and out of Egypt; while, from the most ancient postdiluvian period to the present hour, it has afforded and will continue to afford, the same facilities between Asia and Africa, that in-

duced me to select it as the route of the Caucasian family of Mizraim.

"An important confirmation of the Asiatic origin of the Egyptians, and, indeed, of all the views herein put forward, is to be derived from the results established by the learned ethnographer, philologist, and critical hierologist, Dr. Leipsius; who has proved the affinities between the Indo-Germanic, Semitic and Coptic languages, to be identical, proceeding from their common origin in one primeval source. This discovery puts the seal of authenticity even as to *language* upon the Asiatic origin of the early Egyptians; while it goes far to explain all Coptic linguistical affinities with Hebrew, Arabic, Sanscrit, and other Asiatic tongues.

"1st. Because it was in Lower Egypt that the Caucasian children of Ham must have first settled, on their arrival from Asia.

"2nd. Because the advocates of the theory, which would assert the *African* origin of the Egyptians, say they rely chiefly on history for their African, or Ethiopian predelictions.

"3rd. Because the same theorists* assume, that we must begin with *Africans* at the top of the Nile, and come downward with civilization, instead of commencing with Asiatics and WHITE MEN at the bottom, and carrying it up.

*"I have already stated, that Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson's critical observations, during his long residence in Egypt; and his comparisons between the present Egyptians and the ancient race, as depicted on the monuments, have led him to assert the *Asiatic* origin of the early inhabitants of the Nilotic valley. The learned hierologist, Samuel Birch, Esq., of the British museum, informed me in London, that he had arrived at the

"I have not as yet touched on ethnography; the effects of climate, and the antiquity of the different races of the human family; but I shall come to those subjects, after establishing a chronological standard, by defining the history of Egypt according to the hieroglyphics. At present, I intend merely to sketch the events connected with the Caucasian children of Ham, the Asiatic, on the first establishment of their Egyptian monarchy, and the foundation of their first and greatest metropolis in Lower Egypt.

"The African theories are based upon no critical examination of early history; are founded on no Scriptural authority for early migrations; are supported by no monumental evidence, or hieroglyphical data; and cannot be borne out, or admitted, by practical common sense. For civilization, that never came NORTHWARD out of benighted Africa, (but from the *Deluge* to the present moment has been carried but partially into it; to sink into utter oblivion among the barbarous races whom Providence created to inhabit the Ethiopian and Nigritian territories of that vast continent) *could* not spring from Negroes, or from Berbers, and NEVER DID.

same conclusions; while to his suggestion, am I indebted for the first idea, 'that the most ancient Egyptian monuments lie *North*.' The great naturalists, Blumenbach and Cuvier, declared that all the mummies they had opportunities of examining, presented the Caucasian type.—Monsieur Jomard, the eminent hydrographer and profound Orientalist, in a paper on Egyptian ethnology, appended to the 3rd volume of 'Meninges Histoire de l'Egypte,' Paris, 1839, sustains the *Arabian* (and consequently *Asiatic* and *Caucasian*) origin of the early Egyptians; and his opinions are the more valuable, as he draws his conclusions independently of hieroglyphical discoveries."

“So far then, as the record, Scriptural, historical, and monumental, will afford us an insight into the early progress of the human race in Egypt, (the most ancient of all civilized countries) we may safely assert, that history when analyzed by common sense; when scrutinized by the application of the experience bequeathed to us by our forefathers; when subjected to a strictly impartial examination into, and comparison of the physical and mental capabilities of nations; when distilled in the alembic of chronology; and submitted to the touchstone of hieroglyphical tests, will not support that superannuated, but untenable doctrine, that civilization originated in Ethiopia, and consequently among an African people, and was by them brought down the Nile to enlighten the less polished, and therefore inferior, Caucasian children of Noah—the white Asiatics; or that we, who trace back to Egypt the origin of every art and science known in antiquity, have to thank the sable Negro, or the dusky Berber, for the first gleams of knowledge and invention.

“We may therefore conclude with the observation, that if civilization, instead of going from *North* to *South*, came—contrary, as shown before, to the annals of the earliest historians, and all monumental facts—down the ‘Sacred Nile’ to illumine our darkness; and if the Ethiopic origin of arts and sciences, with social, moral and religious institutions, were in other respects *possible*; these African theoretic conclusions would form a most astounding exception to the ordinations of Providence,

and the organic laws of nature, otherwise so undeviating throughout all the generations of man's history since the Flood.

"It is indeed sufficient to glance one's eye at the plates of the sculptures from the Ethiopian pyramids, to see that there is nothing African in the character of the human faces; and that, be they who they may, these people were not, and did not desire to be considered Africans, whether of the Berber or the Negro branches. Whence, already we begin to infer, that the builders of these Ethiopian pyramids were not aborigines of that country, but of a race foreign to Africa, and generally speaking, at that remote period unmixed with African blood.—Unless born in Ethiopia, they must have come originally from some other region. Who can they be?

"Now it is but reasonable to claim, that if in arts, sciences, customs, religion, color and physiological conformation, these people of Meroe are the same people as the Egyptians, and we prove the Egyptians to have been Asiatic in origin—Caucasian in race, and white men in color: the people of Meroe must have been Asiatics, Caucasians and white men also. This was precisely the case, and for the Egyptian side of the question, I need not recapitulate the account of Mizraim's migration into the valley of the Nile, but refer to Morton's '*Crania Ægyptiaca*' for incontrovertible evidence.

"The question in regard to the priority of erection between the pyramids of Meroe, and those of Memphis, merges into the still more interesting

fact of their having been built by the same race of men, who were not Africans, but Caucasians

“This will at once explain the cause of the superiority of the inhabitants of Meroe, over all African aborigines, and the reason why the Egyptians looked upon them as brethren and friends—never stigmatizing them by the contemptuous title of ‘Gentiles,’ or ‘impure foreigners,’ as they designated Asiatic and European nations; and never applying to the people of Meroe, the reproach of belonging to the ‘*perverse race of Kush*, (not *Cush*, the son of Ham) by which name the Egyptians exclusively designated the Negro and the Berber races in hieroglyphics. We shall come to these facts in due course. This view can be sustained by the whole chain of monumental and other history. It will account for all the conflicting traditionary legends, that would make Meroe the parent of Egyptian civilization, or Ethiopia the cradle of the Egyptian people—will explain the intimacy and alliance subsisting at every period between Egypt and Meroe; the parity in religion; identity in usages and institutions; similarity in language, writing, buildings, &c.

“I would therefore offer, as an improved hypothesis, that the children of Ham, on leaving Asia and settling in the valley of the Nile, colonized first Lower Egypt, and then all the alluvial soil from the Delta to the confines of Nigritia, wherein they did not penetrate for permanent establishment, for the identical reason, that *white* men cannot do so at the present time—the *climate*, which,

in Central Africa, is mortiferous to the Caucasian. It does not change his skin, hair, facial angle, or his osteology; it kills him outright, if he crosses a certain latitude. Of course, here and there, an exception may be instanced where white men have crossed the (to their race) deadly miasmata of Central Africa; but these exceptions are so rare, that they fortify the rule. Witness the late Niger expedition; witness the grave-yard that Africa has been to the most enterprising travellers; witness the fruitless attempts of Mohammed Ali to send expeditions, but a few hundred miles beyond Khàrtoom.

“The Caucasian children of Ham proceeded up the Nile in a natural course of migration and settlement, from Lower Egypt as far as Meroe—and probably there (although it would seem likely in later times) met Indo-Arabian Caucasians, with whom they mixed, and formed one people.

“All we can say of this epoch is, that these circumstances must have occurred before Menes; before the pyramids of Memphis rose in Egypt; before the pyramids of Meroe *could* have been built in Ethiopia.

“That civilization advanced northward from the Thebaid (which appears to have been the parental seat of the theocratic government) before Menei, is not improbable. That the Caucasians who settled at Meroe may have somewhat preceded in civilization their brethren in Egypt, is possible; though from monumental and other reasons, I deem it unlikely. But it does seem unnecessary, that the

children of Ham, (the Caucasian,) the highest caste of that triple Caucasian stock, should have come from Asia into Egypt, and have directly ascended the Nile, leaving the most eligible provinces and heavenly climate behind them, and have proceeded 1600 miles to an almost barren spot, to Meroe, between the tropics, for the objects of study and improvement, and then have returned into Egypt to colonize that country, or in other words to civilize their own relations. How much more reasonable is it to attribute the rise of civilization to the people, occupying the best land under the pure skies of Egypt, or to suppose that its development was simultaneous among the same people, along the whole alluvial line from Lower Egypt to Meroe?

“There are no positive data by which the antiquity of the pyramids of Meroe is shown to be more remote than that of Memphis; and I am inclined to regard both as dating about the same period, when pyramidal constructions were preferred to all others, for the last habitation of the royal dignitaries of Egypt and Meroe. It may be conjectured, that if in Ethiopia these are tombs of individual kings, they continued there to erect pyramids long after this species of sepulchre was abandoned in Egypt; because this would in some degree explain their number. They were all built, and were ancient, in the days of Tirhaka, B. C. 700. 139 pyramids, at 22½ years for a kingly generation, would be 3027½ years; which is incompatible with all Scripture chronology. I am, therefore, inclined to consider the pyramids of Meroe to be tombs of kings,

queens and princes. We have no sure basis for calculating their antiquity, excepting that they belong to a period more ancient than 700 B. C. ; but we know that whenever they were erected, it was by the *same* race which built those of Memphis, the children of Ham—the Caucasian settlers in the Nilotic valley, and not by African aborigines of any race, or of any period. The most critical examination establishes for the pyramids of Egypt, and for Shoopho, builder of the largest, an antiquity that cannot certainly be later than B. C. 2348—though probably dating some centuries earlier ; but that they were erected by Caucasians is indisputable.—That the pyramids of Meroe belong to the same epoch is probable, and that they were likewise built by Caucasians is positive.

“ If the pyramids of Meroe are older than those of Memphis, their epoch must necessarily surpass the Septuagint era of the Flood, if not that of the Creation.

“ If, from a rigid examination of their present appearance, the priority of those at Meroe is proved, (as Mr. Hoskins considers,) and this aged appearance cannot be explained by the effects of tropical rains and solar heat, acting with the hand of the spoiler on a friable material like a soft sandstone ; when we reflect how little, in an Egyptian climate, time affects the appearance of monuments ; and then, (though erroneously,) recognize in Ethiopia a better climate than that of Egypt—if, I say, we consider that notwithstanding so long a period, (above 4000 years,) as we know the Memphite pyramids to have

stood—time has had such a trifling effect on their massive structures; and we are to allow a still slighter effect to be produced by time on those edifices at Meroe—why, we must carry the pyramids of Meroe beyond all chronological, and measure their antiquity by geological periods; 1st, as regards the epoch of the building of these Meroe pyramids; which is one fact; and 2nd as concerns the national traits of the builders, who were not Africans, but Asiatics, the utter destruction of all biblical chronology by this process would be another.

“Now, ‘things which are equal to the same are equal to one another.’ If they are anterior to Shoopho’s pyramid in Egypt, then Meroe must have been occupied in the earliest ages—many centuries before B. C. 2348—by Caucasians, who must have migrated up the valley of the Nile, and have been settled many ages at Meroe before they erected one pyramid. If posterior to Shoopho’s pyramid, Meroe was a colony of Egypto-Caucasians, at any intervening period prior to the 16th dynasty, B. C. 2272—for we know from positive conquests of Egyptian Pharaohs in Nigritia and Ethiopia, that Meroe was an Egyptian province from about that time, down to a few years prior to B. C. 700—say for a thousand years.

“But, if each of these pyramids of Ethiopia, like those of Memphis, be the sepulchre of a king, and if all of these Meroe edifices, (according to Mr. Hoskins) were erected before Shoophos’ time, as there are 139 pyramids in Ethiopia, we should have 139 generations of Caucasian kings at Meroe before the pyramids of Memphis were thought of.

“Lastly if the advocates of the African origin of the Egyptians cling to the superior antiquity of the pyramids at Meroe, as a proof of the origin of civilization in Ethiopia, and its consequent descent into Egypt, they are easily placed in a series of dilemmas. If they deny all Caucasian introduction at Meroe, in the hope of vindicating the ancient mental and physical capabilities of Negro or Berber races; as I have proved the immense and almost biblically-irreconcilable antiquity of the Memphite pyramids, the advocates of the African origin of civilization must reject Scripture altogether, both for chronology and primitive migrations. If, on the other hand, they allow, that, according to the Bible, Ham was the parent of the Egyptians, as we prove these Egyptians to have been pure-blooded white men, they must allow that civilization, proceeding from the Caucasians, took its rise in Egypt; and that Ethiopian civilization is a consequence; while, in no case, can they make it appear that the African races above Egypt were one iota more civilized in ancient times than at the present day, for the civilization of Meroe originated with the Caucasians, and expired on the extinction, or on the deteriorating amalgamation, of their high-caste race.

“Such are the results of my reflections on the subject of the pyramids. They are not rashly advanced; nor devoid of infinite corroboration. They might be greatly extended, and a variety of interesting comparisons might be instituted between the pyramids of Ethiopia and Egypt, and those found on the Euphrates by Colonel Chesney, that one

supposed to be the ruins of the tower of Babel, and those in Central America.

“My province, however, is solely Egyptian history; and I will confidently assert, that any one who will read and study the works of the hieroglyphical school—the volumes of the Champollions, of Rosellini, and of Wilkinson—who will weigh the demonstrations in Morton’s ‘*Crania Ægyptica*,’ and who, to remove the last atoms of scepticism, will pay a visit to Egypt’s time-honored monuments, and verify for himself the truth of the descriptions given by the hierologists—any one, I repeat, who will do all this, (which I have done) and then deny these evidences, would, I really believe, dispute the truth of Euclid’s axiom, and maintain that ‘a straight line is *not* the shortest distance from one given point to another.’

“Let me recapitulate, in a summary mode, what these results are :

“1st. Geologically—that the Delta is as ancient as any portion of the alluvial soil of the Nile, and that it was inhabited at the earliest postdiluvian period.

“2nd. Geographically—that Lower Egypt was by climate, soil, and every circumstance, most favorable to early settlement; and as the most contiguous to Asia, was the region best adapted to primitive colonization, and the earliest civilization.

“3rd. Scripturally—that the children of Ham came from the banks of the Euphrates into Egypt, through Syria, Palestine, and the Isthmus of Suez—that they inhabited the lower provinces of the

Nilotic valley in the first instance, whence they eventually spread themselves over the alluvial soil of that valley, in a natural order of migration and settlement.

“4th. Physiologically—which, for the first time is clearly demonstrated by Morton’s ‘*Crania Ægyptiaca*,’ the keystone of the system: that the ancient inhabitants of Egypt were Asiatic in origin, and Caucasian in race, from the earliest period to the extinction of Pharaonic dominion, which is in perfect accordance with Scriptural migrations, and their Caucasian origin as descendants of Noah.

“5th. Ethnographically—according to Dr. Leipsius, that, as the affinities of the Indo-Germanic and Semitic languages with the Coptic, establish the Asiatic and common primeval origin of all three, the remaining link of language is supplied to show the Caucasian attributes of the Egyptian tongue.

“6th. Historically—from the collation of the most ancient records with each other, corrected by the application of hieroglyphical testimony, coeval with the earliest events of which history has left us the annals—


“7th, and Monumentally—from the edifices still erect in Lower Egypt; which are more ancient than any others in the world, and from the vestiges in Lower Egypt of early cities, which history attests were equal to any others in antiquity—

“We are fully justified in concluding that *civilization*, springing from Asia, introduced by Caucasians into Lower Egypt, obtained its earliest known developments in the lower provinces, and therefore accompanied a white race up the Nile,

from north to south, as these people, the primitive Egyptians, must have ascended, and not descended that river."

Having thus quoted Gliddon at such length, I will now give a reason, and to my mind a most convincing one of the capability of that gentleman in arriving at correct conclusions, upon the Caucasian origin of the pyramid builders :

"We are now approaching a period, when, for all local Egyptian annals, my own personal recollection will supply the place of books; and I am able to speak as a spectator, and a little later as a very humble actor, in some of the scenes, of which I shall incidentally give sketches. These may be thought curious by my readers, and I can assure them, that they are known to very few, and have never been published. I have said, that from 1829 my local recollection serves; but, to avoid misapprehension, I will mention that my sojourn in Egypt dates from 1818, and with intervals of absence has been prolonged during 23 years, to 1841; and consequently, I presume to entertain opinions of my own, on any affairs to which I am a party. I mention these circumstances, with an apology for alluding to myself, only to satisfy my readers, that I am not a *stranger* in the land of Egypt, and may be allowed to speak from personal knowledge and long experience, without reference to the works or opinions of gentlemen, who, however greatly they surpass me in acquirements and talents, remained but a few weeks, months, or years, in the valley of the Nile; and whose Egyptian sojournings, in point of duration, can rarely be



spoken of in the same breath with my own. In fact, I feel myself to be a *foreigner* in every other country; and if, on *ancient* Egyptian matters. I am proud to consider myself the humblest follower in the footsteps of the hieroglyphical masters, or if, on *scientific* subjects, I make no claim to anything beyond the merest superficial acquaintance, it is not presumption in me to declare, that, on modern and on local Egyptian topics, I need acknowledge few superiors in or out of that country. Those who have been at Cairo, in my time, among whom I have much pleasure in enumerating a host of American travellers, will allow, that in this personal digression, I do not arrogate to myself more than their own experience will in fairness concede to me."

I cannot conclude this portion of my work without offering my tribute of gratitude to Mr. Gliddon, for placing before our citizens so much important information concerning the inhabitants of ancient Egypt—his own glowing words are the best calculated to convey to the mind, an idea of this truly wonderful people.

"Are not, however, Egyptian studies, and the mythology, philosophy, and doctrines of that misrepresented race, interesting to the divine who attests the unity of the Godhead and the holy Trinity? Can the theologian derive no light from the pure primeval faith, that glimmers from Egyptian hieroglyphics, to illustrate the immortality of the soul and a final resurrection? Will not the historian deign to notice the prior origin of every art and science in Egypt, a thousand years before

the Pelasgians studded the isles and capes of the Archipelago with their forts and temples? long before Etruscan civilization had smiled under Italian skies? And shall not the ethnographer, versed in Egyptian lore, proclaim the fact, that the physiological, craniological, capillary and cuticular distinctions of the human race existed, on the first distribution of mankind throughout the earth?

“Philologists, astronomers, chemists, painters, architects, physicians, must return to Egypt, to learn the origin of language and writing—of the calender and solar motion—of the art of cutting granite with a *copper* chisel and of giving elasticity to a *copper* sword—of making glass with the variegated hues of the rainbow—of moving single blocks of polished syenite, 900 tons in weight, for any distance, by land or water—of building *arches*, round and pointed with masonic precision unsurpassed at the present day and antecedent, by 2000 years to the ‘Cloaca Magna’ of Rome—of sculpturing a *Doric column*, 1000 years before the Dorians are known in history—of *fresco* painting in imperishable colors—and of practical knowledge in anatomy.

“Every craftsman can behold, in Egyptian monuments, the progress of his art 4000 years ago; and, whether it be a wheelwright building a chariot—a shoemaker drawing his twine—a leather-cutter using the self same form of knife of old, as is considered the best form now—a weaver throwing the same hand-shuttle—a whitesmith using that identical form of blowpipe, but lately recognized to be the most efficient—the seal-engraver cutting, in

hieroglyphics, such names as SHOOPHO's, above 4300 years ago—or even the poulterer removing the *pip* from geese—all these, and many more astounding evidences of Egyptian priority, now require but a glance at the plates of Rosellini."

The preceding quotations are from the fifteenth edition of Mr. Gliddon's work upon ancient Egypt, published by T. B. Peterson, No. 98 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, at the remarkable low price of twenty-five cents.

I now proceed to place several quotations from Prichard—appended to them are my own views:

CHAPTER III.

QUOTATIONS FROM PRICHARD.

"1. THE basis on which the distinction of nations is founded, may be displayed by two straight lines; one of which is to be drawn through the meatus-auditorius, to the base of the nose, and the other touching the prominent centre of the forehead, and falling thence on the most advancing part of the upper jawbone, the head being viewed in profile. In the angle produced by these two lines, may be said to consist not only the distinctions between the skulls of the several species of animals, but also those which are found to exist between different nations; and it might be concluded that nature has availed herself, at the same time, of this angle to mark out the diversities of the animal kingdom, and to establish a sort of scale from the inferior tribes up to the most beautiful forms which are found in the human species. Thus it will be found that the heads of birds display the smallest angle, and that it always becomes of greater extent in proportion as the animal approaches more nearly to the human figure. Thus there is one species of the ape tribe in which the head has a facial angle of forty-two degrees; in another animal of the same family, which is one of those simice most approximating in figure to mankind, the facial angle contains exactly fifty degrees. Next to this is the head of the African Negro, which, as well as that of the Kalmuk, forms an angle of seventy degrees; while the angle discovered

in the heads of Europeans contains eighty degrees. On this difference of ten degrees in the facial angle the superior beauty of the European depends; while that high character of sublime beauty which is so striking in some works of ancient statuary, as in the head of Apollo, and in the Medusa of Siso-cles, is given by an angle which amounts to one hundred degrees. 111—112.

"2. Some varieties are well known to exist between different races of men in regard to the average stature of the body, the size and the proportion of the limbs and trunk, and the relations of different parts. The varieties have been differently estimated by anatomists. By some they have been regarded as amounting, especially when taken together with other instances of deviation, to characters truly specific, and sufficient to separate mankind into several distinct species. Of late years and since the attention of voyagers has been directed to the collection of facts relating to the physical history of mankind, measurements have been taken of the length of the limbs and of their proportions: and experiments have been made by means of an instrument called a dydramometer with the view of forming some estimate of the muscular strength in newly discovered races. The facts as yet collected are far from being so complete as to admit of a comprehensive statement; and the only general result that can be deduced is, that every tribe of people has in some of the particulars above pointed out a peculiar character. In the proportional length of limbs, in the size and relation of parts, the people of almost

every island and continent have some peculiarity which might serve to distinguish them. One of the most important of these varieties consists in the peculiar conformation of the pelvis. Camper, Scæmmering, White, and others had long ago observed that there is some peculiarity in the shape in this part of the skeleton of the Negro, and they had given different measurements with a view to ascertain its precise nature.

“The subject has been more accurately investigated in later times, by Vrolik of Amsterdam, whose observations have been surveyed in a different point of view by Professor Weber of Bonn. Vrolik seems to have been led to these researches by the remark that the shape of the pelvis, must have some influence greater or less, on the conformation of the foetus. He endeavored to discover what peculiarities exist in the shape of the pelvis, characteristic of the different nations, by examining the form displayed by this part of the skeleton in a male and female Negro; in a female of the Hottentot or Bushman race; in a male and female Javanese; and in a Mestizo, or a person of mixed breed, having one parent a mulatto, and the other a white man or woman. Vrolik has remarked that the differences between the pelvis of male and female Europeans are very considerable, but by no means so striking and well marked as those which are perceived when we compare the male and female of the Negro race. ‘The pelvis of the male Negro’ he says ‘in the strength and density of its substance and of the bones which compose it, resembles the pelvis of a wild

beast; while, on the contrary, the pelvis of the female in the same race combines lightness of substance and delicacy of form and structure. Delicate, however, as is the form of the pelvis in the female, it is difficult, as Vrolik thinks to separate from it the idea of degradation in type, and approach towards the form of the lower animals. This character is imparted by the vertical directions of the assa ilii, the elevation of the ilia at the posterior and upper tuberosities, the greater proximity of the anterior and upper spines, the smaller breadth of the sacrum, the smaller extent of the haunches, the smaller distance from the upper edge of the articulation of the pelvis, and by the projection of the sacrum, or the shortness of the confugate diameter, by the smallness of the transverse diameters at the spines and tuberosities of the ischium, and the lengthened form which the pelvis derives from these peculiarities. All these characters, as he says, recall to our minds the conformation of the pelvis in the simiæ. The elongated shape of the pelvis in the Negress is, in short, the character on which this approximation depends. The structure of the same parts in the Bushman and Hottentot race, is only known as yet by the skeleton of the female who died at Paris, in 1815. The shape of the pelvis in this individual indicates, in Dr. Vrolik's opinion, the inferior condition of the race, or its greater 'animality in comparison even with the Negro.' In no individual exempt from deformity have the ilia been observed to assume so vertical a direction. They are likewise remarkable for their very great

height in proportion to their breadth. The breadth is about half an inch less than the pelvis of the European females. The height is on the contrary, much more considerable than the latter. The ilia reach up beyond the level of the half of the fourth lumbar vertebra. The distance between the two anterior and upper spines of the ilium is a fourth of an inch less than in the smallest pelvis of the Negress measured by Dr. Vrolik, and nearly an inch less than the largest. Those of my readers who are accustomed to anatomical descriptions will understand what is meant by these remarks on inspecting the sketch in the next page, displaying the anterior and posterior view of the human pelvis, in comparison with those of the highest of the simiæ, the chimpansi and the orang. By the animality, or degradation of the forms of the pelvis peculiar to the Negress, and the Bushman or Hottentot, is implied an approach towards the forms of these latter species. 123—125.

“3. The complexion of the Arabs displays great diversities in the different countries inhabited by them. Volney says that some of the Bedouins are black. Niebuhr and De Pagés assure us that the color of the lower orders is naturally a dusky or yellow brown. According to Burkhardt, the Arabs in the low countries of the Nile bordering on Nubia, are black. This traveller carefully distinguishes the Arabs from Negroes and Nubians. Higher up the Nile than Dongola are the Shegya Arabs of whom we have an excellent description from an intelligent English traveller. ‘The general complex-

ion of the Shegya Arabs,' says Mr. Waddington, 'is a jet black. The Shegya' he adds, 'as I have already mentioned, are black,—a clear, glossy, jet black, which appeared to my then unprejudiced eyes to be the finest color that could be selected for a human being. They are distinguished in every respect from the Negroes by the brightness of their color; by their hair and the regularity of their features; by the mild and dewy lustre of their eyes; and by the softness of their touch, in which last respect they yield not to Europeans.' 149.

"4. Of the skulls found in mummies. The Egyptian skulls were, as we have before observed, generally of that form which belong to all the most anciently civilized races, namely, the oval; but there were great varieties among the people in this respect. Most of them resembled the European skull in many particulars; but, in some a certain approximation to the African has been observed or fancied. The figure in the margin is a sketch of a skull in the Museum of the College of Surgeons. There is an Egyptian skull in the same Museum which in weight and density, resembles the heavy skulls of some Guinea Negroes. Its form is European, except that the alveolar edge of the upper jaw is rather more prominent than usual. This, with a corresponding structure of the soft parts, might have given to the countenance much of the Negro character. Soemmerring has described the heads of four mummies examined by him. Two of them differed in no respect from European skulls; the third, as he says, represented the African form, in

having the space marked out by the insertion of the temporal muscle more extensive than in European heads. 160.

"5. The Mongolian race, properly so termed, is generally considered as most strongly exemplifying the broad faced or pyramidal form of the skull. This character is, however, in reality more fully displayed in the heads of the Esquimaux, and some other nations, who wander along the shores of the Icy Sea. But the Mongolian race decidedly belongs to a variety of the human species which is distinguished from Europeans by the shape of the skull.

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"6. The Kamtschatkans, or Kamtschadales, are a people long well known to Navigators of the Northern Pacific. They were a numerous people till they became almost exterminated by the small-pox and other diseases, introduced among them by Europeans. Only the southern part of the peninsula known by their name, is inhabited by this race of people, the northern portion belonging to the Koriaks. The Kamtschatkans call themselves Itelman. By Stoller who described them with accuracy, they were imagined to be of Mongolian origin, an hypothesis chiefly founded on a physical resemblance, and which is contradicted by an examination of their language. It appears that they constitute a distinct race, which, however, is divided into four tribes, who scarcely understand each other. They are Shamanists, and a people of rude and squalid manners. The Kamtschatkans are described as a people of short stature, swarthy complexion, of black

hair, little beard, broad faces, short and flat noses, small and sunk eyes, small eye-brows, protuberant bellies, and small legs. In all these respects it has been thought that they bear a resemblance to the Mongoles. 222—223.

“7. Pallas informs us that the Circassians are a handsome race of people. ‘The men’ he says, ‘especially among the higher classes, are mostly of a tall stature, thin form, but Herculean structure. They are very slender about the loins, have small feet, and uncommon strength in their arms. They possess in general a truly Roman and martial appearance. The women are not uniformly Circassian beauties, but are for the most part well formed, have a white skin, dark brown or black hair, and regular features.’ He adds ‘I have met with a greater number of beauties among them than in any other unpolished nation.’ Other travellers represent a mixture of red in their hair as a characteristic of the Circassians. Klaproth says ‘They have brown hair and eyes, long faces, thin, straight noses, and elegant forms.’ 254—255.

“8. Having described the ancient Egyptians in a preceding section, I now proceed to give some brief account of numerous races in the Eastern parts of Africa, who in their physical characters bear some resemblance to that celebrated people. In some of these races, a certain approximation may be recognised to the type of the Negro. The full development of all the peculiarities of organization which are considered as characteristic of the Negro races are only to be found in the western districts of in-

tertropical Africa. If we trace the intervening countries between Egypt and Senegambia, and carefully note the physical qualities of the inhabitants, we shall have no difficulty in recognising almost every degree or stage of deviation successively displayed, and showing a gradual transition from the characters of the Egyptian to those of the Negro, without any broadly marked line of abrupt separation. The characteristic type of one division of the human species here passes into another, and that by almost imperceptible degrees. This gradual change is not the result of the intermixture of races on the confines of regions of old allotted to either separately. This might have been conjectured some years ago, and, in fact, it has often been said by those who sought the most obvious explanation of the phenomena. The intermediate tribes are not Mulattoes, or at all resembling Mulattoes: they have each their distinguishing features, which besides their distinct languages, marks them out as races separate and peculiar, and not less distinct from the Negroes than white races themselves. These more accurate observations are the result of recent inquiries made on the spot by persons well skilled in natural history and comparative anatomy and physiology, and aware of the important bearing of such inquiries on the physical history of the human species. They were commenced by the scientific men who accompanied the army of the French republic in the Egyptian expedition. They have been followed up by later travellers. Some of the most extensive of these researches have been made

by M. D'Abbadie, who is now engaged on a second tour in Abyssinia. I shall avail myself of the accurate discrimination lately made by these ingenious travellers. 269, 270.

“9. Dr. Ruppell alludes to the sculptures found on the Nile above Egypt, which, however they may resemble the features of the Baràbra, were not formed by their ancestors, but by people of the ancient Egyptian race. He thus describes their physiognomy:—A long oval countenance; a beautifully curved nose, somewhat rounded towards the tip; lips rather thick, but not protruding excessively; a retreating chin; scanty beard; lively eyes; strongly frizzled, but never woolly, hair; a remarkably beautiful figure, generally of middle size; and a bronze color, are the characteristics of the genuine Dongolawi. These same traits of physiognomy are generally found among the Ababdeh, the Bishari a part of the inhabitants of the province of Schendic and partly also among the Abyssinians. 274.

“10. Dr. Ruppell informs us that there are two physical types prevalent among the Abyssinians, the Galla and the Shangalla being excluded from that designation. The greater number, he says, are a finely formed people of the European type, having a countenance and features precisely resembling those of the Bedouins of Arabia. The characteristic of their exterior consists principally in an oval shape of the face; a finely pointed nose; a well proportioned mouth, with lips of moderate thickness, not in the least turned out; lively eyes:

well placed teeth; somewhat curled or smooth hair; and a middle stature. The greater number of the inhabitants of the high mountains of Samen, and of the plains round Lake Tzana, as well as the Falasha or Jews, the heathen Gamant, and the Agows, notwithstanding the variety of their dialects, belong to this class. A second numerous division of the Abyssinian people, according to the same traveller, is identified, as far as physical traits are concerned, with the race which he has designated under the name of Ethiopian. 'This last type' says Dr. Ruppell 'is distinguished chiefly by a less acute and uniformly somewhat flattened nose; by thick lips; by long and not very sparkling eyes; and by very strongly crisped and almost wooly hair, which stands very thickly upon the head. A part of the inhabitants of the Abyssinian coast, of the province Hamasen, and other districts along the northern borders of Abyssinia, belongs to this Ethiopian race.' These are the characters which Ruppell, in a previous work, had ascribed to the Berberines of the Nile and the Ababdeh. He says that the portrait of the Suakiny Arab, given in Lord Valentia's travels, of which the figure in page 272 is taken is a very good exemplification of this type of countenance and general character. This last physical type, which Ruppell terms Ethiopian, and declares to be common to a considerable part of the Abyssinian and Nubian tribes, with the Berberines, and Ababdeh, and Bishari, is precisely that character of physiognomy which, by Larrey and most other writers, is described as the prevalent

type of the Abyssinian countenance. Baron Larrey, in particular, who has entered very fully into the physical history of these races, describes one type as common to the Copts, or native Egyptian race, the Barabra, or Berberines, and the Abyssinians; and he separates this by a broad line from the character peculiar to the Negro races, and by almost as broad a line from that of the Arabian. I shall cite his observations, as he may be considered to be the greatest authority on this subject. The Egyptians, or Copts, who, as he says, form one branch of this assemblage of races, have a 'yellow, dusky complexion, like that of the Abyssinians. Their countenance is full, without being puffed; their eyes are beautiful, clear, almond shaped, languishing; their cheek bones are projecting; their noses nearly straight, rounded at the point; their nostrils dilated; mouth of moderate size; their lips thick; their teeth white, regular and scarcely projecting; their beard and hair black and crisp.' In all these characters, the Egyptians, according to Larry, agree with the Abyssinians, and are distinguished from the Negroes. 284—285.

“With this description he contrasts that of the Abyssinians, who are distinguished by large eyes, and a fine expression of countenance, the inner corner of the eye displaying a slight curve; the cheek bones are more prominent, and form, with the marked and acute angle of the jaw and the corner of the mouth, a more regular triangle; the lips are thick, without being turned out as in the Negroes; and the teeth are well formed, regular, and less

projecting; the alveolar edges are less extensive. The complexion of Abyssinians is the color of copper. 'These characters,' says M. Larry, are common, with slight shades of difference, to the Abyssinians and the Copts. They are likewise recognised in the statues of the ancient Egyptians, and, above all, in the Sphinx, as well as several of the Egyptian mummies. He says that the mummy heads found at Saqqarah displayed precisely the same character, namely, the prominence of the cheek bones and of the Zygomatic arches, the peculiar shape of the nasal fossæ, and the relatively slight projection in the alveolar edges, when compared with the corresponding structure in the Negro skull. 286.

"11. The region which I have last mentioned has been the great seat of the exportation of Negro Slaves, and the tribes on the coast have been reduced to the lowest state of physical and moral degradation by the calamities and vices attendant on that traffic. Throughout Negroland, and especially this part of it, the inhabitants of one district in the interior, the dwellers on one mountain are ever on the watch to seize the wives and children of the neighboring clans, and sell them to strangers; *many sell their own*. Every recess, and almost every corner of the land, has been the scene of hateful rapine and slaughter, not to be excused or palliated by the spirit of warfare, but perpetrated in cold blood and for the love of gain. 308—309.

"12. The Hottentot tribes, who are believed to have occupied, or rather to have traversed, in their

pastoral, roving life, many regions of South Africa, long since wrested from them, by the more warlike Kafirs, may be considered from their situation, as in all probability the descendants of the earliest inhabitants. In them we find, most fully developed, the characters, both physical and moral, which the condition of their existence is fitted to impress. Before the ill omened hour when a Christian navigator espied the Cape of Tempests, the Hottentots were a numerous and happy people, divided into many tribes, under the patriarchal government of chiefs or elders; they wandered about with flocks and herds, associated in companies of three or four hundred persons, living in kraals, or moveable villages of huts constructed of poles or boughs, and covered with rush mats, which were taken down and carried on pack oxen. A mantle of sewn sheepskins was their clothing; their arms were a bow with poisoned arrows, and a light javelin or assegai, They were bold and active in the chase, and, although mild in their dispositions, were courageous in warfare, as their European invaders frequently experienced. Kolben enumerates eighteen nations or tribes of the Hottentot race. The greater number of these tribes have been exterminated by European colonists. Others have been robbed of all their possessions, and driven into forests and deserts, where their miserable descendents now subsist, under the name of Saabs, by the colonists termed Bushmen. The Bushmen are thus described by the missionary Adulph Bonatz:—‘These people,’ he says, ‘are of small stature, and dirty yellow

color ; their countenance is repulsive,—a prominent forehead, small, deeply seated, and roguish eyes, a much depressed nose, and thick projecting lips, are their characteristic features. Their constitution is so much injured by their dissolute habits and the constant smoking of durha, that both old and young look wrinkled and decrepid ; nevertheless, they are fond of ornament, and decorate their ears, arms, and legs, with beads, iron, copper, or brass rings. The women also stain their faces red, or paint them wholly or in part. Their only clothing, by day or night, is a mantle of sheep-skin thrown over their bodies, which they term a kaross. The dwelling of the Bushman is a low hut, or a circular cavity, on the open plain, in which he creeps at night, with his wife and children, and which, though it shelters him from the wind, leaves him exposed to the rain. They had formerly their habitation among the rocks, in which are still seen rude figures of horses, oxen, or serpents. Many of them still live, like wild beasts, in their rocky retreats, to which they return with joy after escaping from the service of the colonists. I have never seen these fugitives otherwise occupied than with their bows and arrows ; the bows are small, the arrows are barbed, and steeped in a potent poison, of a resinous apperance, distilled from the leaves of an indigenous tree. These they prefer to fire-arms, as weapons that make no report. On their return from the chase they feast till they become drowsy, and hunger only rouses them to renewed exertion. In seasons of scarcity, they devour wild roots, ants' eggs, locusts, and

snakes. As enemies, the Bushmen are not to be despised. Their language seems to consist of snapping, hissing, grunting sounds, all of them nasal.' The Hottentots, still existing in tribes or communities, call themselves Quæquæ, and are divided into several races. Mr. Barrow, first described these people with accuracy. He says, 'the Hottentots are well proportioned, erect, of delicate and effeminate make, not muscular; their joints and extremities small; their faces generally ugly; but different in different families, some having the nose remarkable flat, others considerably raised. Their eyes are of a deep chesnut color, long and narrow, distinct from each other, the inner angle being rounded, as in the Chinese, to whom the Hottentots bear a striking resemblance. The cheek-bones are high and prominent, and with the narrow pointed chin, form nearly a triangle. Their teeth are very white. The women when young, are graceful and well made, but after the birth of the first child, their breasts become flaccid and pendent, and in old age greatly distended; the belly becomes protuberant, and the posteriors are covered with a huge mass of pure fat.' There are few skulls belonging to this race in European collections. The cranium of a Bushman female has been described by Blumenbach, and another by Cuvier. Dr. Knox, who has seen the people in their native country, assures us, that the face of the Hottentot resembles that of the Kalmac, excepting in the greater thickness of their lips, and he sets them down as a branch of the Mongolian race. The width of the orbits, their

distance from each other, the large size of the occipital foramen, are points in which the Hottentots resemble the northern Asiatics, and even the Esquimaux. The annexed outline represents the cranium of a Bushman, in which, however, the jaw projects more than in other skulls of the same race." 310—314.

"13. The Missouri Indians of the male sex exceed in height the ordinary average of the Europeans; but the women are in proportion shorter and thicker. The average facial angle is 78° , that of the Cherokees being 75° ; the transverse line of direction of the eyes is rectilinear; the nose acquiline; the lips thicker than those of the Europeans; the cheek-bones prominent, but not angular. The recently born infants are of a reddish brown color, which after a while becomes whiter, and then gradually assumes that tint, which is not perfectly uniform amongst all the Indians, and which, for want of a better approximation, we call copper color. They designate that of the Europeans by words which mean white or pale. Theirs is not the effect of exposure, as all parts of the body present the same appearance. The women marry very young, bear children from the age of thirteen to forty, and have generally from four to six." 400.

"14. The nature of the hair is, perhaps, one of the most permanent characteristics of different races. The hair of the Negro has been termed woolly; it is not wool, and only differs from the hair of other races in less important respects." 476.

"15. Let us imagine, for a moment a stranger

from another planet to visit our globe, and to contemplate and compare the manners of its inhabitants, and let him first witness some brilliant spectacle in one of the highly civilized countries of Europe,—the coronation of a monarch, the installation of St. Louis on the throne of his ancestors, surrounded by an august assembly of peers, and barons, and mitred abbots, anointed from the cruise of sacred oil brought by an angel to ratify the divine privilege of kings,—let the same person be carried into a hamlet in Negroland, in the hour when the sable race recreate themselves with dancing and barbarous music,—let him then be transported to the saline plains over which bold and tawny Mongoles roam, differing but little in hue from the yellow soil of their steppes, brightened by the saffron flowers of the iris and tulip,—let him be placed near the solitary den of the Bushman, where the lean and hungry savage crouches in silence like a beast of prey, watching with fixed eyes the birds which enter his pitfall, or the insects and reptiles which chance brings within his grasp,—let the traveller be carried into the midst of an Australian forest, where the squalid companions of kangaroos may be seen crawling in procession in imitation of quadrupeds,—can it be supposed that such a person would conclude the various groupes of beings whom he had surveyed to be of one nature, one tribe, or the offspring of the same original stock? It is much more probable that he would arrive at an opposite conclusion.” 487—488.

“ 16. Of all species of men; [Bushmen] this race,

approaching as it does in its form most nearly to the second genus of bimanous animals, is still more closely allied to the orangs through the inferiority of its intellectual faculties. 'Happily for themselves' he continues 'these people are so brutish, lazy, and stupid, that the idea of reducing them to slavery has been abandoned.' No picture of human degradation and wretchedness can be drawn which exceeds the real abasement and misery of the Bushmen, as we find it displayed by the most accurate writers who describe this people. Without houses, or even huts, living in caves and holes in the earth, these naked and half starved savages wander through forests, in small companies or separate families, hardly supporting their comfortless existence, by collecting wild roots, by a toilsome search for the eggs of ants, and by devouring, whenever they can catch them, lizards, snakes, and the most loathsome insects. It is no matter of surprise that those writers who search for approximations between mankind and the inferior orders of creation fix upon the Bushman as their favorite theme. But accurate observers, who cannot be suspected of undue prepossession towards opposite sentiments and representations of human nature have drawn a less unfavorable picture of the moral and intellectual character of the Bushmen. Mr. Burchell, who sought and obtained opportunities of conversing with them, and observing their manner of existence, though he found them, in the most destitute and miserable state, yet discovered among them traits of kind and social feelings, and all the essential attributes of

humanity. It must not be forgotten that the Bushmen are not a distinct race, but a branch or subdivision of the once extensive nation of Hottentots. This was at one time denied. Lichtenstein, who was followed by other writers, asserted, that the Bossesmen are a peculiar family of men: he regarded them as entirely distinct from all the other inhabitants of Southern Africa. A careful comparison of their language with that of the Korah and other Hottentots convinced Professor Vater that there is an essential affinity between them; and in recent times this conclusion has been fully established by local inquiries, and no diversity of opinion at present exists upon the subject. We are assured by one of the latest and best writers on South Africa, that the Bushmen are the remains of Hottentot hordes, who subsisted originally, like all the tribes of Southern Africa, chiefly by rearing sheep and cattle; but who have been driven by the gradual encroachments of European colonists, and by internal wars with other tribes, to seek for refuge among the inaccessible deserts and rocks of the interior, 'Most of the hordes,' says the same writer, 'known by the name of the Bushmen, are entirely destitute of flocks and herds, and subsist partly by hunting, partly on the wild roots of the wilderness, on reptiles, locusts, and the larvæ of ants, or by plundering their hereditary oppressors, the colonists of the frontier. Having descended from the pastoral to the state of robbers and hunters, the Bushmen, as we are assured, have necessarily acquired, with their increased perils and privations, a more resolute

and ferocious character : from a mild, confiding, and unenterprising race of shepherds, they have been gradually transformed into wandering hordes of fierce, suspicious, vindictive savages ; by their fellow men they have been treated as wild beasts, until they have become assimilated to wild beasts in their habits and dispositions.' Difficult as it may be to imagine a change from the state of herdsmen to that of the miserable Bushmen, the transition has been actually observed and described. Among the Hottentot tribes the Koranas are well known to be the most advanced in all the possessions and improvements which belong to the pastoral life. A late traveller in Africa, whose narrative is replete with good sense and the marks of accurate knowledge, has traced from observation the process by which hordes even of the Korah race have been reduced from the life of peaceful herdsmen to the condition of hunters and predatory savages.

"The Koranas as visited by Mr. Thomson on the Hartbeest river, had actually undergone this transition ; having been plundered by their neighbors, and driven out into the wilderness to subsist upon wild fruits, they had adopted the habits of the Bushmen, and had become assimilated in every essential particular to that miserable tribe. Considering the pastoral Hottentots and the Bushmen as ~~one~~ race, I shall make some remarks on their mental character in general, in order to furnish the ground for a comparison between this and other families of men. We must attempt to estimate the character of the Hottentot race, not from their

present degraded condition, after the cruelty and oppression which they have endured from European colonists during so many generations have broken their spirit, and reduced them to bondage or exile, but from the accounts left by older writers of the condition of these tribes soon after the first settlement of the Dutch colony. The voyager Kolben has given us a full and circumstantial account of the Hottentots at this time, and many of his statements are singularly at variance with the description which late writers have drawn. Kolben extols the good moral qualities of the Hottentots. 'They are, perhaps, the most faithful servants in the world. Though infinitely fond of wine, tobacco, and brandy, they are safely intrusted with them, and will neither themselves take, nor suffer others to diminish, any such articles when committed to their trust. To this quality they add the greatest humanity and good nature. Their chastity is remarkable, and adultery, when known among them, is punished with death. They are dirty in their habits, slothful and indolent; and, though they can think,' as he says, 'to the purpose, they hate the trouble of thought.' Kolben considered their intellect as by no means deficient. He declares that 'he has known many of them who understood Dutch, French, and Portuguese, to a degree of perfection; one particularly, who learned English and Portuguese in a very short time, and having conquered the habits of pronunciation contracted from his native language, was said by good judges, to understand and speak them with surprising readiness and propriety. They

are even employed by Europeans in affairs that require judgment and capacity. A Hottentot, named Cloos, was instructed by Van der Stel, the late Governor of the Cape, with the business of carrying on a trade of barter for cattle with the tribes at a great distance, and he generally returned, after executing his commission, with great success. The internal character of the mind is best known by discovering the religious ideas and impressions. It has often been said, that the Hottentots are destitute of all belief in a deity or a future state. Enslaved and separated from their fellows; and scarcely able, without constant toil, to support life, some may have lost the power and habit of reflection and all traces of sentiment; but Kolben assures us, that the Hottentots of his time had a firm belief in a supreme power, which they termed 'Gounza Tekquoa,' or the God of all Gods, saying that he lived beyond the moon. They paid him no adoration; but they worshipped the moon at the full and change, by sacrifices of cattle, with distorted faces and postures, shouting, swearing, singing, jumping, stamping, dancing, and making numerous prostrations, repeating an unintelligible jargon of words. 'They also pay singular veneration to a peculiar kind of beetle, the appearance of which is supposed to be particularly fortunate. They have an evil deity, called Toutouka, whom they represent as a little crabbed, ill-natured being, a great enemy to the Hottentots, and the author of all the mischief in the world. They offer sacrifices to him in order to soften his temper. All sudden pain, accidents, or sicknesses,

are attributed to witchcraft. Charms and amulets are in high esteem among them.' Kolben thinks they have not the least notion of rewards and punishments; 'Yet' says he, 'that they believe in the immortality of the soul, seems evident from these particulars; first, that they offer up prayers to saints, or good Hottentots departed; secondly, that they are apprehensive of the return of the departed spirits to molest them; for which reason, on the death of any person, they remove their kraal, believing that the departed souls remain about the place which they formerly inhabited: thirdly, they believe it is in the power of the witches or wizards to lay these spirits.'" 514—519.

"17. The country of Doko is a month's journey distant from Kaffa, and it seems that only those merchants who are dealers in slaves, go farther than Kaffa. The most common route passes Kaffa in a south westerly direction, leading to Dambaro, afterwards to Kootcha, Kooloo and then passing the river Omo to Tooffte, where they begin to hunt the slaves in Doko, of which chase I shall give a description, as it has been stated to me, and the reader may use his own judgment respecting it. 'Dilbo begins with stating that the people of Doko, both men and women, are said to be not taller than boys nine or ten years old. They never exceed that height, even in the most advanced age. They go quite naked; their principle food are ants, snakes, mice, and other things which commonly are not used as food. They are said to be so skilful in finding out the ants and snakes, that Dilbo could not refrain

from praising them greatly on that account. They are so fond of this food, that even when they have become acquainted with better aliment in Enarea and Kaffa, they are nevertheless frequently punished for following their inclination of digging in search of ants and snakes as soon as they are out of sight of their masters. The skins of snakes are worn by them about their necks as ornaments. They also climb trees with great skill to fetch down the fruits, and in doing this they stretch their hands downwards and their legs upwards. They live in extensive forests of Bamboo and other woods, which are so thick that the slave hunter finds it very difficult to follow them in these retreats. These hunters sometimes discover a great number of the Dokos sitting on the trees, and then use the artifice of shewing them shining things, by which they are enticed to descend, when they are captured without difficulty. As soon as a Doko begins to cry he is killed, from the apprehension that this, as a sign of danger, will cause the others to take to their heels. Even the women climb on the trees, where in a few minutes a great number of them may be captured and sold into slavery. 'The Dokos live mixed together; men and women unite and separate as they please; and this Dilbo considers as the reason why that tribe has not been exterminated, though frequently a single slave hunter returns home with a thousand of them reduced to slavery. The mother suckles the child only as long as she is unable to find ants and snakes for its food. She abandons it as soon as it can get its food by itself.

No rank or order exists among the Dokos. Nobody orders, nobody obeys, nobody defends the country, nobody cares for the welfare of the nation. They make no attempt to secure themselves but by running away. They are as quick as monkeys; and they are very sensible of the misery prepared for them by the slave hunters, who so frequently encircle their forests and drive them from thence into the open plains like beasts. When there pressed, they are often heard praying. They put their heads on the ground, and stretch their legs upwards, and cry, in a pitiful manner, 'Yer! Yer!' Thus they call on the Supreme Being, of whom they have some notions, and are said to exclaim, 'If you do exist, why do you suffer us to die, who do not ask for food or clothes, and who live on snakes, ants and mice?' Dilbo stated that it was no rare thing to find five or six Dokos in such a position and state of mind. Sometimes these people quarrel among themselves when they eat the fruit of the trees. Then the stronger one throws the weaker one to the ground, and the latter is thus frequently killed in a miserable way. In their country it rains almost incessantly from May to January, and even later the rain does not cease entirely. The climate is not cold, but very wet. The traveller, in going from Kaffa to Doko, must pass over a very high country, and cross several rivers, which fall into the Gochob. The language of the Dokos is a kind of murmuring, which is understood by no one but themselves and their hunters. The Dokos evince much sense and skill in managing the affairs of

their masters, to whom they are so much attached, and they render themselves valuable to such a degree, that no native of Kaffa ever sells one of them to be sent out of the country, as Captain Clapperton says of the slaves of Nyffie. The very slaves of this people are in great request, and when once obtained are never again sold out of the country. The inhabitants of Enearea and Kaffa sell only those slaves which they have taken in their border wars with the tribes living near them, but never a Doko. The Doko is also averse to being sold; he prefers death to separating from his master, to whom he has attached himself. 'The access to the country of Doko is very difficult, as the inhabitants of Dambaro, Koolloo, and Tooffte, are enemies to the traders from Kaffa, though these tribes are dependant on Kaffa and pay a tribute to its sovereigns. For these tribes are intent on preserving for themselves alone the exclusive priviledge of hunting the Dokos, and of trading with the slaves thus obtained. 'Dilbo did not know whether the tribes residing south and west of the Dokos persecute this unhappy nation in the same cruel way. 'This is Dilbo's account of the Dokos, a nation of pygmies, who are found in so degraded a condition of human nature that it is difficult to give implicit credit to his account. The notion of a nation of pygmies in the interior of Africa is very ancient, as Herodotus speaks of them in 11. 32." 554—557.

"18. A most interesting and really important addition has lately been made to our knowledge of the physical character of the ancient Egyptians. This

has been derived from a quarter where local probabilities would least of all have induced us to have looked for it. In France, where so many scientific men have been devoted, ever since the conquest of Egypt by Napoleon, for a long time under the patronage of government, to researches into this subject; in England, possessed of the immense advantage of wealth and commercial resources; in the academies of Italy and Germany, where the arts of Egypt have been studied in natural museums, scarcely any thing has been done since the time of Blumenbach to elucidate the physical history of the ancient Egyptian race. In none of these countries have any extensive collections been formed of the materials and resources which alone can afford a secure foundation for such attempts. It is in the United States of America that a remarkable advancement of this part of physical science has been at length achieved. 'The transactions of the American Philosophical Society' contain a memoir by Dr. Morton, of Philadelphia, in which that able and zealous writer, already distinguished by his admirable researches into the physical characters of the native American races, has brought forward a great mass of new information on the ancient Egyptians." 570—571.

I have by selections from Prichard placed the opinions of this Naturalist before the reader. Let the reader remember that "Prichard is the great advocate of the natural equality of races." The quotations already afforded will indicate that his position is rather a difficult one. It cannot fail to strike

even a casual reader, that this writer has to make so many admissions regarding the inferiority of the colored races and the superiority of the white, as to prove most conclusively the doctrine I have advocated ever since I devoted any attention to this subject. It is a curious fact that those writers who have not had a full opportunity to observe the negro by actual communication are the very persons who are strongest in advocating the original equality of the various races of men, while those who have mixed among the colored races become more and more convinced of the absurdity of maintaining any such proposition. Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton Smith, and Robert Knox M. D., both of whom I shall cite, are proofs of the latter, and Prichard of the former. Prichard states that the wool upon the negro's head is not wool but hair, to this assertion I intend to offer the investigations of Peter A. Brown Esq., a scientific gentleman of Philadelphia, who is well qualified to give a decisive opinion upon the subject. Having thus quoted "Prichard's Natural History of Man," I will reserve further extracts from "Physical Researches into the Natural History of Mankind" by the same author, for another place in these pages and will now place before the reader the laborious, learned and scientific investigations of Lawrence.

CHAPTER IV.

LAWRENCE.

"1. Certain external circumstances, as food, climate, mode of life, have the power of modifying the animal organization, so as to make it deviate from that of the parent. But this effect terminates in the individual. Thus, a fair Englishman, if exposed to the sun, becomes dark and swarthy in Bengal; but his offspring, if from an Englishwoman, are born just as fair as he himself was originally: and the children, after any number of generations, that we have yet observed, are still born equally fair, provided there has been no intermixture of dark blood." 68.

"2. In opposition to these views it has been contended that thought is not an act of the brain, but of an immaterial substance, residing in or connected with it. This large and curious structure, which, in the human subject, receives one-fifth of all the blood sent out from the heart, which is so peculiarly and delicately organized, nicely enveloped in successive membranes, and securely lodged in a solid bony case, is left almost without an office, being barely allowed to be capable of sensation. It has, indeed, the easiest lot in the animal economy; it is better fed, clothed, and lodged than any other part, and has less to do. But its office—only one remove above a sinecure—is not a very honorable one: it is a kind of porter, intrusted to open the door, and introduce new comers to the master of the house,

who takes on himself the entire charge of receiving, entertaining, and employing them.

“ Let us survey the natural history of the human mind ;—its rise, progress, various fates, and decay ;—and then judge whether these accord best with the hypothesis of an immaterial agent, or with the plain dictates of common sense, and the analogy of every other organ and function throughout the boundless extent of living beings.

“ You must bring to this physiological question a sincere and earnest love of truth ; dismissing from your minds all the prejudices and alarms which have been so industriously connected with it. If you enter on the inquiry in the spirit of the bigot and partisan, suffering a cloud of fears and hopes, desires and aversions, to hang round your understandings, you will never discern objects clearly ; their colors, dimensions, will be confused, distorted, and obscured by the intellectual mist. Our business is to inquire what is true ; not what is the finest theory, not what will supply the best topics of pretty composition and eloquent declamation, addressed to the prejudices, the passions, and the ignorance of our hearers. We need not fear the result of investigation : truth is like a native rustic beauty, most lovely when unadorned, and seen in the open light of day : your fine hypothesis and specious theories are like the unfortunate females who supply the want or the loss of native charms, and repair the breaches of age or disease by paint and finery, and decorations, which can only be exhibited in the glaring lights, the artificial atmosphere, and the un-

natural scenery of the theatre or saloon. Whenever it is thoroughly discussed, truth will not fail to come, like tried gold from the fire. Like AJAX, it requires nothing but daylight and fair play.

“Reason and free inquiry are the only effectual antidotes of error. Give them full scope, and they will uphold the truth by bringing false opinions and all the spurious offspring of ignorance, prejudice, and self-interest, before their severe tribunal, and subjecting them to the test of close investigation. Error alone needs artificial support: truth can stand by itself.

“Sir EVERARD HOME, with the assistance of Mr. BAUER and his microscope, has shown us a man eight days old from the time of conception; about as broad, and a little longer than a pin’s head. He satisfied himself that the brain of this homunculus was discernible. Could the immaterial mind have been connected with it at this time; or was the tenement too small for so ethereal a lodger? At the full period of utero-gestation it is still difficult to trace any vestiges of mind, and the believers in its separate existence have left us quite in the dark on the precise time at which the spiritual guest arrives in his corporeal dwelling, the interesting and important moment of amalgamation or combination of the earthly dust and the ethereal essence. The Roman Catholic church has cut the knot, which no one else could untie, and has decided that the little mortal, on its passage into this world of trouble, has a soul to be saved; it accordingly directs and authorizes midwives, in cases of difficult labour,

where the death of the infant is apprehended, to baptize it by means of a syringe introduced into the vagina, and thus to save it from perdition.

“They, whose scruples are not quite set at rest by the above-mentioned decision of the church, nor by being told that the mind has not yet taken up its quarters in the brain, endeavor to account for the entire absence of mental phenomena at the time of birth by the senses and brain not having been yet called into action by the impressions of external objects.

“These organs begin to be exercised as soon as the child is born ; and a faint glimmering of mind is dimly perceived in the course of the first months of existence ; but it is as weak and infantile as the body.

“As the senses acquire their powers, and the cerebral jelly becomes firmer, and the mind gradually strengthens ; slowly advances, with the body, through childhood to puberty, and becomes adult when the development of the frame is complete : it is, moreover, male or female, according to the sex of the body. In the perfect period of organization, the mind is seen in the plenitude of its powers ; but this state of full vigor is short in duration both for the intellect and the corporeal fabric. The wear and tear of the latter is evidenced in its mental movements ; with the decline of organization the mind decays : it becomes decrepit with the body ; and both are at the same time extinguished by death.

“What do we infer from this succession of phe-

nomena?—The existence and action of a principle entirely distinct from body? or a close analogy to the history of all other organs and functions?

“The number and kind of the intellectual phenomena in different animals correspond closely to the degree of development of the brain. The mind of the Negro and Hottentot, of the Calmuck and the Carib, is inferior to that of the European; and their organization is also less perfect. The large cranium and high forehead of the orang-outang lift him above his brother monkeys; but the development of cerebral hemispheres and his mental manifestations are both equally below these of the negro. The gradation of organization and of mind passes through the monkey, dog, elephant, horse, to other quadrupeds; thence to birds, reptiles, and fishes; and so on to the lowest links of the animal chain.”
74—76.

“3. All the simiæ, and the lemurs likewise, are *quadrumanous*; that is, they possess opposable members, or thumbs on the hind, as well as on the fore limbs; they have perfect clavicles; perfect pronation and supination of the fore-arm; long and flexible fingers and toes: hence they have the power of imitating many human actions; hence, too, they are excellent climbers. On the other hand, they cannot easily stand or walk upright, because the foot rests on its outer edge, the heel does not touch the ground, and the narrowness of the pelvis renders the trunk unsteady. Consequently, they are neither biped, nor strictly quadruped. They resemble man in the general form of the cranium,

and in the configuration of the brain ; of which, however, the cerebral hemispheres are greatly reduced. The face is turned forwards ; the optic axes are parallel ; the orbits complete, and separate from the temporal fosse. The nose is flat (hence the name *simia*, from *simus*, flat-nosed), and has a single triangular os nasi.

"In this QUADRUMANOUS order there is a constantly increasing deviation from the human structure, by increased elongation of the muzzle, and advances to the quadruped attitude and progression. They have the same number and kinds of teeth as man ; and an alimentary canal very much like the human. Their pectoral mammæ and loose penis are other approximations.

"In so large a family as the monkeys we shall expect to meet with considerable varieties of form, and to find that the human character is strongly expressed in some, while others exhibit successive degrees of approximation towards the neighboring animals.

"The division of ORANGS, which is the most strongly anthropomorphous, and includes the two simiæ confounded together under the names of orang-outang, pongo, jocko, barris, &c. and two others called gibbons (*S. Lar*, or long-armed monkey ; *S. Leucisca*, or wouwou), is characterised by the slight prominence of the jaws, so that they have a large facial angle ; by the want of tail ; by possessing an os hyoides, liver, and cæcum like the human : the latter part as an appendix vermiformis as in man. They have very long arms.

“The *simia satyrus* is the true animal so much celebrated under the name of orang-outang. It is principally if not solely, found on the great island of Borneo, whence it has been sometimes brought to us through Java. It is about three feet in height; as specimens conveyed hither have been young, we may suppose that it would reach to between three and four feet when grown up; but none have been seen in Europe exceeding three feet. The body is covered with long reddish brown hair. The front of the head has a very human character, the forehead being large and high, and the facial angle consequently considerable: indeed no animal approaches to man so nearly as this, in the form of head and volume of the brain. The face is bluish or lead-colored: there are no cheek pouches nor collosities of the buttocks. Two large membranous bags cover the front of the neck under the skin, and open into the larynx between the os hyoides and thyroid cartilage: a structure which spoils him from speaking. The thumb of the hind hand has no nail. It is a mild and gentle animal, with some actions similar to ours, and some appearances of human feeling. It soon becomes attached, and imitates very quickly whatever we do. A state of captivity, in climates and with diet unfriendly to its nature, is not well calculated to devolope its feelings and powers, or to lead to a just estimate of its faculties and intelligence.

“The reports of travellers concerning its immense strength and ferocity, its stature represented as equal or superior to that of man, its carrying off

women and so forth, do not accord either with the size or the disposition of the creature as observed in the examples brought into Europe. They must probably be referred partly to exaggeration and partly to the circumstance of other large simiæ (particularly the pongo of Borneo) having been confounded with the true orang-outang.

“The *simia troglodytes* is a native of Angola and Congo, where it is called by the native chimpansé. It resembles the former in size; but differs from it in being covered with black hair; in having a lower forehead, and large ears; and nails on the thumbs of the hind hands. It is very susceptible of education, and quickly learns to imitate human actions. This is the animal of which Tyson has given an excellent anatomical description, accompanied with very good engravings. In both these simiæ, the hair of the upper and fore arm takes opposite directions; that is, it slants in each part of the limb towards the elbow.” 89—91.

4 “The Mosiac account does not however, make it quite clear that the inhabitants of all the world descended from ADAM and EVE. Moreover, the entire or even partial inspiration of the various writings comprehended in the Old Testament has been, and is doubted by many persons, including learned divines, and distinguished oriental and biblical scholars. The account of the creation and of subsequent events, has the allegorical figurative character common to eastern compositions; and it is distinguished among the cosmogonies by a simple grandeur and natural sublimity, as the rest of these

writings are by appropriate beauties in their respective parts not inferior to those of any human compositions.

“To the grounds of doubt respecting inspiration, which arise from examination of the various narratives, from knowledge of the original and other oriental languages, and from the irreconcilable opposition between the passions and sentiments ascribed by the Deity to MOSES, and that religion of peace and love unfolded by the Evangelists, I have only to add, that the representations of all the animals being brought before ADAM in the first instance, and subsequently of their being all collected in the ark, if we are to understand them as applied to the living inhabitants of the whole world, are zoologically impossible.

“The collection of living beings in one central point, and their gradual diffusion over the whole globe, may not be greatly inconsistent with what we know of our own species, and of the few more common quadrupeds, which accompany us in our various migrations, and are able to sustain with us great varieties of climate, food, situation, and all external influences.

“But when we extend our survey to the rest of the mammalia, we find at all points abundant proofs of animals being confined to particular situations, and being so completely adapted by their structure and functions, by their whole organization, economy, and habits, to the local peculiarities of temperature, soil, food, &c. that they cannot subsist where these are no longer found. In proportion as our

knowledge of species becomes more exact, the proofs of this locality are rendered stronger, and the examples of admirable conformity between the organic capabilities of animals and the circumstances of the regions which they inhabit, are multiplied and strengthened.

“The peculiar adaptation of the camel to the sandy deserts in which he is placed, strikes the most cursory observer. The herds of antelopes and other ruminant animals, and the great troops of solidungular quadrupeds, are not less suited to the boundless plains of Asia and Africa; the vast assemblages of elk and buffalo, to the uninhabited wilds of America; the tiger to the jungles and the thickets of the East Indies; and the troops of sapajous, with their prehensile tails, to the lofty forests of Guiana and Brazil.

“Even when the external circumstances are nearly alike, remote regions are occupied in most cases by distinct genera or species. The lion so common in Africa, is hardly found in Asia, while the tiger is peculiar to the latter; the elephants and rhinoceroses of these two quarters of the world are specifically distinct.

“The instances of America, New Holland, and some other islands, afford unanswerable arguments against the creation of all animals in one spot. None of the mammalia of the southern hemisphere, the torrid zone, or even the two northern temperate regions, are common to the two continents. When the Spaniards landed in the new world, they did not find a single animal they were acquainted with;

not one of the quadrupeds of Europe, Asia, or Africa. On the other hand, the puma, the jaguer, the tapir, the cabiai, the llama, the vicugna, the sapajous were creatures altogether new to them. No quadrupeds are found in both continents except such as dwell north of the Baltic in the old, and of Canada in the new world; such, in short, as are capable of bearing the cold of those regions, where the two continents approximate to each other.

“Here indeed, we must guard against the mistakes, which the inconsiderate application of the same names to animals, really different, though more or less analogous to each other, might occasion. We read of American lions; but the creature so called (the puma), although a carnivorous animal, is widely different from the lion of Africa: American monkeys again form a very distinct family, without any specific affinity to those of the old world.

“A similar phenomenon was again experienced in our own times on first exploring the coasts of New Holland and the adjacent isles. A dog was indeed found here, whether of the same species with those we are acquainted with, and introduced from the neighboring islands, is not perhaps yet clearly ascertained. This great southern continent contained no other mammiferous animals previously known to naturalists; but on the contrary, it has furnished about forty species, altogether new; of which the kangaroos, the phascolomys, the dasyuri, the pér-amèles, the flying phalangers, the ornithorhynchi, and the echidnæ, have astonished zoologists by the novelty and singularity of their conformation, con-

trary to all the rules hitherto established, and at variance with all their systems. Even the island called VAN DIEMEN'S Land, although situated so near to New Holland, and in a some degree connected to it by intervening islands, has its own peculiar species.

"The orang-outang is found only on the island of Borneo; and the makis are confined to that of Madagascar, while the neighboring continent of Africa has none of them, but numerous monkeys instead.

"Even marine animals are confined to particular situations, although it might appear so probable *à priori*, that the waves and currents of the ocean would carry them into all situations, and the medium in which they live seems so favorable for their transportation. PERON and LE SUEUR assert that there is no *well-known animal* of the northern hemisphere, which is not specifically distinct from every other *equally well-known* of the southern; and that this is true even of those possessing the lowest and simplest organization.

"If all the difficulties connected with the facts just recited, and with the numerous analogous ones, which every department of natural history could furnish, were removed, insurmountable obstacles would still be found to this hypothesis of the whole globe having received its supply of animals from one quarter. How could all living beings have been assembled in one climate, when many, as the white fox (*isatis*), the polar bear, the walrus, the manita, can exist only in the cold of the polar regions,

while to others the warmth of the tropic is essential? How could all have been supplied with food in one spot, since many live entirely on vegetables produced only in certain districts? How could many have passed from the point of assemblage to their actual abode, over mountains, through deserts, and even across the seas? How could the polar bear, to whom the ice of the frozen regions is necessary, have traversed the torrid zone? If we are to believe that the original creation comprehended only a male and female of each species, or that one pair only was rescued from an universal deluge, the contradictions are again increased. The carnivorous animals must have soon perished with hunger, or have annihilated most of the other species.

“Such an assumption, in short, is at variance with all our knowledge of living nature. Why should we embrace an hypothesis so full of contradictions?—to give to an allegory a literal construction, and the character of revelation; which is so much the less necessary here, because we do not follow the same rule in other points. The astronomer does not pourtray the heavenly motions, or lay down the laws which govern them, according to the statements in the Jewish scriptures; nor does the geologist think it necessary to modify the results of experience according to the contents of the Mosiac writings.” 168—172.

“5. In the first generation, the offspring of Europeans and Negroes are called Mulattos (*mulâtre*, Fr.). The word Creole (*criollo*) has been fre-

quently confounded with this, even by good writers; but that name, originally applied by the first Negroes conveyed to America in the sixteenth century, to their children born in that country, and borrowed by the Spaniards from them to denote their own offspring in the new world,* belongs properly to the children of the European or Negro parents born in the East or West Indies.

"In color, figure, and moral qualities, the Mulatto is a medium between the European and African. The color is more or less yellow, brown, or tawny, according as the European father may have been fair or dark; and the countenance has the middle form between that of both parents † There is no redness of the cheek. The hair is curled and black, but much longer than that of the Negro; and the iris is dark. In cleanliness, capacity, activity, and courage, they are decidedly superior to the Negroes.

* "When the facial angles of the anthropo-morphous simiæ, as above stated, are compared to those of some Negroes, as, for example, the skull delineated in pl. vii. which has an angle of 65°, and that in Sandifort's *Museum Acad. Lugduno-Batavum*, v. 1, which has nearly the same, we find this method insufficient, even to distinguish man and animals. An American monkey figured by Humboldt (*simia melano-cephala*) has as good a facial line as the generality of Negroes. *Recueil d'Obs. de Zool. et d'Anat. comp.* i. pl. 29. He ascribes to it 'facias nigra, anthropo-morpha, fero Æthiopis;' p. 317."

"The woman and children on the coast of Sierra Leone wear nothing on their head, either in rain or sunshine. The mean heat is only 84°: but the thermometer rises in the sun to 130 or 140. Winterbottom on the *Native African*, v. i. p. 38.

Garcilasso *del Origen de los Incas*, p. 255. We can easily understand how the use of the word may have been extended in the West Indies to the animals which have been produced from stocks imported from the old world.

† Whether either color or sex affects the offspring more strongly than

“Europeans and Mulattos produce Tercerons (sometimes also called Quarterons, Moriscos, and Mestizos). The hair and countenance of these resemble the European; the former has nothing of the grandmother’s woolly curl; the skin has a slight brown tint, and the cheeks are red. In the Dutch colonies they often have blue eyes and fair hair. The stain of the black blood is principally visible in the organs of generation: the scrotum is blackish in the male, and the labia pudendi dark or purplish in the female.

“In political rights these class with the Mulattos in the European colonies.

“Europeans and Tercerons produce Quarterons or Quadroons (ochavones, octavones, or alvinos), which are not to be distinguished from whites: but they are not entitled, in Jamaica at least, to the same legal privileges as the Europeans or white Creoles, because there is still a contamination of dark blood, although no longer visible. It is said to betray itself sometimes in a relic of the peculiar strong smell of the great-grandmother.

“The genealogy of these hybrid races is carried into the fifth generation, the children of Europeans and Quarterons being called Quinterons* (puchue-

the other, is an interesting question, which we have not the means of answering satisfactorily. I find an opinion expressed, that in the union of the European and Negress the nobler blood predominates. Estwick, *History of Jamaica*, ii. 335. There is the same authority for an opinion that male and female Mulattos do not produce so many children together, as if they were united respectively to Negresses and Europeans. Mr. Long, in his *History of Jamaica*, gives a similar testimony on this point, and that in strong terms.

* The offspring of a Quadroon woman and white man is called Mes-

las SPAR). It is not credible that any trace of mixed origin can remain in this case, according to the observations of the most judicious eye-witnesses concerning the third generation, *viz.* that in color and habit of body they cannot be distinguished from their European progenitors. Accordingly, even the law is now satisfied, and considers them sufficiently whitened to enjoy its full protection : they are legally white, and free.

“ By an opposite course of proceeding the Mulatto offspring of the European and Negro may be reduced again to the characters of the latter. If the Mulatto be paired with a Negro, and the children again and again with Negroes, the fourth generation is perfectly black.

“ Thus, in obedience to that principle by which the properties of the offspring depend on those of the parents, we have the power of changing one species into another by repeated intermixture. If the offspring of a white woman and a black be matched with a black man, and this process be repeated two or three times, the form of the original mother is entirely lost, and that of the father substituted ; or *vice versa*. In this manner the color of the race may be completely changed in three or four generations ; while it never has been changed by climate, even in the longest series of ages.

“ The offspring of an European and Indian (American) is named Mestizo* (mestee, Eng).

size, or Mustee, according to Edwards, *Hist. of the West Indies* ; ii. 18 : and Winterbottom, *Account of the Native Africans* ; i. 188.

* They also are sometimes called Mestindi, Metifi, Mamelucki.

The hair is black and straight; the iris dark : the skin various according to the tint of the American parent. As the latter is by no means so dark-colored as the Negro, the Mestizo is much lighter than the Mulatto. Many native Americans are nearly as fair as Europeans ; hence Mestizos are often not distinguishable by color from Europeans.

“ ‘A Mestizo,’ says HUMBOLDT,* ‘is in color almost a pure white, and his skin is of a particular transparency. The small beard, and small hands and feet, and a certain obliquity of the eyes, are more frequent indication of the mixture of Indian blood, than the nature of the hair.’

“ They have often some parts of the body darker than others ; and this is always the case with the organs of generation in both sexes. European fathers and Mestee mothers produce Quarterons, Quatralvi, or Castizos, corresponding to Tercerons in the Negro breed, and not distinguishable from Europeans ;† Quarteron women with Europeans, Ochavons, or Octavons ; and Europeans with female Octavons, Puchuelos, which are not only not distinguishable in any respect from native Europeans, but also enjoy full legal rights and privileges in the Spanish colonies.

“ The offspring of Negroes and Americans are

* *Political Essay*, v. i. p. 244. The testimony of Ulloa is to the same effect. “ The inhabitants (of Concepcion) consist of Spaniards, and of Mestizos, who in color are hardly distinguished from the former ; both being very fair, and some have even fresh complexions.” *Voyage to South America*, ii. 237.

† “ If a Mestiza marry a white man, the second generation differs hardly in any thing from the European race.” Humboldt, *loc. cit.*

Zambos or Sambos;* and sometimes Mulattos. Negroes with Mulattos produce Zambos † de Mulata (griffos, or cabros); an European and Zambo, a Mulatto; an American and Zambo, a Zambaigo. The offspring of the Zambos are styled, in derision, by the Spaniards Cholos; that of a Negro and Zamba is called Zambo prieto (black Zambo).‡

“ ‘In a country governed by whites, the families reputed to have the least mixture of Negro or Mulatto blood are naturally the most honored. Thus, in (Spanish) America, the greater or less degree of whiteness of skin decides the rank of an individual in society. A white, who rides barefooted on horseback, thinks he belongs to the nobility of the country. When a common man disputes with one of the titled lords of the country, he is frequently heard to say, ‘Do you think me not so white as yourself?’ It becomes, consequently a very interesting business for the public vanity to estimate accurately the fractions of European blood which belong to the different castes.’

“ ‘It often happens that the families suspected of being of mixed blood demand from the high court

* “The descendants of Negroes and Indian women bear at Mexico. Lima, and even at the Havannah, the strange name of Chino, Chinese. On the coast of Caraccas, and, as appears from the laws, even in New Spain, they are called Zambos. This last denomination is now principally limited to the descendants of a Negro and female Mulatto, or a Negro and a Chinese female.” Humboldt, *loc. cit.*

† “The offspring of a Negro or Negress with a Mulatto man or woman is called in the English colonies Sambo. Edwards’ *Hist. of the West Indies*, v. ii. p. 18.

‡ If a Mulatto and Terceron, or Tercon and Quarteron, intermix, the offspring are called Tenti en ayre by the Spaniards; because they remain in the same legal condition, neither advancing nor receding. Ulloa, *Voyage*, i. 30.

of justice (audiencia) to have it declared that they belong to the whites.* These declarations are not always corroborated by the judgment of the senses. We see very swarthy Mulattos, who have had the address to get themselves *whitened* (this is the vulgar expression). When the color of the skin is too repugnant to the judgment demanded, the petitioner is contented with an expression somewhat problematical. The sentence then simply bears, 'that such individuals may consider themselves as whites (que se tengan por blancos).'[†]

"Where several races are brought together, as in some European-Asiatic settlements, their mixture with each other, and the several crossings between the original races and their various decendants, give rise to a vast number of mixed breeds, and every possible variety of color. The dark races, and all who are contaminated by any visible mixture of dark blood, are comprised under the general denomination of people of color. It is not however, merely by this superficial character that

* "The proportions are represented below according to the principles sanctioned by usage.

<i>Parents.</i>	<i>Offspring.</i>	<i>Degree of Mixture.</i>
Negro and European	Mulatto	$\frac{1}{2}$ white $\frac{1}{2}$ black.
European and Mulatto	Terceron	$\frac{3}{4}$ ——— $\frac{1}{4}$ ———
Negro and Mulatto	Griffo, or Zambo	$\frac{2}{3}$ black $\frac{1}{3}$ white.
European and Terceron	Quarteron	$\frac{3}{4}$ white $\frac{1}{4}$ black.
Negro and Terceron	$\frac{2}{3}$ black $\frac{1}{3}$ white.
European and Quarteron	Quinteron	$\frac{11}{16}$ white $\frac{5}{16}$ black.
Negro and Quarteron	$\frac{11}{16}$ black $\frac{5}{16}$ white.

The two latter are respectively white and black; and of these the first are white by law, and consequently free in our West India Islands. All remains of color are so completely banished, that they are not distinguishable from the whites in any respect."

[†] Humboldt, *Polit. Essay*; i. 246, 247.

they are distinguished ; all other physical and moral qualities are equally influenced by those of the parents. The intellectual and moral character of the Europeans is deteriorated by the mixture of black or red blood, while on the other hand an infusion of white blood tends, in an equal degree, to improve and ennoble the qualities of the dark varieties." 200—204.

"8. The skin differs in some other properties besides its color. Travellers have described it as remarkably soft and smooth, and as it were, silky in certain races: as in the Carib, Negro, Otaheitean, and Turk. It secretes a matter of peculiar odor in some races. 'The Peruvian Indians,' says HUMBOLDT, 'who in the middle of the night distinguished the different races by their quick sense of smell, have formed three words to express the odor of the European, the Indian American, and the Negro: they call the first *pezuna*, the second *posco*, and the third *graio*.' He adds, that the casts of Indian or African blood preserve the odor peculiar to the cutaneous transpiration of those primitive races." 208.

"9 The various races of mankind exhibit considerable differences in the beard and the hair on other parts of the body, as well as in that of the head. One of the most general characters of the dark colored nations, at least of those which belong to the Mongolian, American, and African varieties, is either an entire want of beard, or a very thin one developed at a more advanced age, than is usual with us: on the contrary, a copious beard has always been the pride of the white races: and, from

its being a distinguishing attribute of the male, has been commonly regarded as a mark of masculine strength. Dark-colored nations with strong beards are as uncommon as individuals of the white races with an inconsiderable growth of this covering. A general smoothness of the whole body is combined with this diminution of the beard; and these characters are rendered more striking by the very common practice among the dark-coloured nations of carefully eradicating or destroying the hair; which affords another example of their great disposition to exaggerate by artificial means whatever may be deemed imperfect or defective in their bodily formation. In some instances neither the eyebrows nor eyelashes are spared; nor even the hair of the head.

“The beardlessness of the Mongolian variety, which attracted the attention of the older writers, has been fully confirmed by the testimonies of modern travellers. ‘In all the Mongolian tribes,’ says PALLAS, ‘the adult males have much less beard than in the Tartars and European nations; it also grows later. The Calmucks have the most, yet they are very poorly furnished; they commonly have small mustachios, and some preserve besides a tuft on the lower lip.’ ‘They have very little hair on the body, and the mothers seek to exterminate it in their children. But in certain parts, which the Tartar women like to keep quite smooth, those, of the Calmucks leave the hair undisturbed.’ ‘The Mongols have less beard and thinner hair of the head than the Calmucks. The Burats are nearly

as beardless as the Tungooses and other hordes of Eastern Siberia. Without any means of destruction having been resorted to, their chin often remains quite smooth even to advanced age. It is not common to see a Burat with a beard at the usual commencement of adult age; and they are constantly smooth and bald in the rest of the body. GMELIN observes, 'that it is not easy to find a beard among the Tungooses or the neighboring tribes. For they eradicate the hair as soon as it appears, and repeat this constantly, till at last no more is produced.'"

"The Chinese resemble the Mongolian tribes, to which they owe their origin, in this deficiency of beard; although they preserve it, and encourage the growth as much as they can.

"The practice of exterminating is mentioned by KEMPFFER as prevalent in Japan and among the Malays; by FORREST, among the Mindanao islanders; WILSON, in the Pelew Islands; LANGSDORFF, in the Marquesas; CARTERET, among the Papuas; BOUGAINVILLE, in the Navigators' Islands; Mr. MARSDEN, in Sumatra; &c., &c.

"There has been a great dispute about the Americans; some asserting their entire and natural want of beard, and assigning this as a proof of their physical inferiority, of that degeneracy, which is supposed to have affected all animal nature in the new world: while others are inclined to ascribe the apparent difference entirely to the practice of eradication.

"We have abundant evidence that the American

race is characterized generally by a small and imperfect beard; yet there are tribes, particularly in North America, with a more copious growth. The tall and robust stature of some of the American nations which have little beard, proves that the absence of this excrescence is not a sure sign of weakness; while its existence in New Holland, the people of Tanna Mallicollo, &c., shows that its presence does not necessarily indicate vigor or beauty.

“The very competent and respectable testimony of ULLOA, establishes a general deficiency of beard among the South Americans. ‘The Indians have no beard; and the greatest alteration occasioned by their arriving at the years of maturity is only a few straggling hairs on the chin; but so short and thin, as never to require the assistance of a razor.’ He states in another place, that grey hair and beards indicate in the American race a very advanced age: the former is not seen till before or about the seventieth year; the latter about the age of sixty, and then slender and thin. BOUGUER, CHARLEVOIX, the Chevalier DE PINTO, DOBRIZHOFFER, MOLINA,*

* “‘The Chilians, like the Tartars, have but little beard; and the custom of plucking out the hair, as fast as it grows, makes them appear as if beardless; for this purpose they always carry with them a small pair of pincers, which forms a part of their toilette. There are some of them, however, who have as thick a beard as the Spaniards. The hair which marks the age of puberty, they have in still greater quantities than the beard. The opinion that a thin beard is the mark of a feeble body is not verified in the case of these people. The Indians are generally vigorous, and are better able to endure fatigue than the Creoles; for which reason they are always preferred in those employments that require strength.’” *Natural History of Chili*, p. 275.

and HUMBOLDT,* give similar testimony on this point.

“There is some contradiction in the reports of travellers concerning the native North Americans: it is, however, easily explained on the probable supposition that the proportions of the beard varies in different tribes.

“Mr. HEARNE observed, of those whom he saw on his journey to the Copper Mine River, ‘that few of the men have any beard: this seldom makes its

“‘The Araucans ‘have scarcely any beard, and the smallest hair is never to be discerned on their faces, from the care they take to pluck out the little that appears.’ ‘The same attention is paid to removing it from their bodies, where its growth is more abundant.’” *Civ. His. of Chili*, p. 55.

* “‘The Chaymas are almost without beard on the chin, like the Tunooses, and other nations of the Mongol race. They pluck out the few hairs that appear; but it is not correct to say they have no beard, merely because they pluck out the hairs. Independently of this custom, the greater part of the natives would be nearly beardless.’ No controversy would have arisen on this point, if the correct account given by the first historians of the conquest of America had been sufficiently attended to. (See the *Journal* of Piagfetta, published by Amoretti, 1800, p. 18. Benzoni, *Storia del Mondo Nuovo* 1572, p. 85. Bembo, *Hist. Venet.* 1557, p. 86.) ‘The Patagonians and Guaranies in South America have beards. When the Chaymas, instead of extracting the little hair they have on the chin, shave themselves frequently, their beard grows. I have seen this experiment tried with success by young Indians, who served at mass, and who anxiously wished to resemble the Capuchin fathers, their missionaries and instructors. Most of the people, however, have as great an antipathy to the beard as the Eastern nations have veneration for it. This antipathy is derived from the same source as the predilection for flat foreheads, which is seen in so singular a manner in the statues of the Azteck heroes and divinities. Nations attach the idea of beauty to every thing which particularly characterizes their own physical conformation, their natural physiognomy. Hence it results, that if nature have bestowed very little beard, a narrow forehead, or a brownish red skin, every individual thinks himself beautiful, in proportion as his body is destitute of hairs, his head flattened, and his skin covered with annatto or chica; or some other coppery red color.’” *Personal Narrative*, iii. 237.

appearance, till they are arrived at middle age; and then in by no means equal quantity to what is observed in the generality of the Europeans: the little they have, however, is exceedingly strong and bristly.' He mentions the practice of eradication; and adds, that 'neither sex have any hair under their armpits, and very little on any other part of their body, particularly the women.

"Mr. MACKENZIE states that the Knisteneaux 'very generally extract their beards; and both sexes manifest a disposition to pluck the hair from every part of their body and limbs.' Among the Chepewyans 'the men in general extract their beards; but some men seem to prefer a bushy black beard to a smooth chin.'

"Respecting the Canadian Indians and the adjoining tribes, we have a curious statement in the *Philosophical Transactions*, communicated by a celebrated Mohawk chief named THAYANDANEEGA, but better known to the English by the name of Capt. BRANT, whose portrait is represented in Plate IV.

"'The men of the Six Nations have all beards by nature, as have likewise all other Indian nations of North America, which I have seen. Some allow a part of the beard on the chin and upper lip to grow; and a few of the Mohawks shave with razors like Europeans; but the generality pluck out the hairs of the beard by the roots, as soon as they begin to appear; and, as they continue this practice all their lives, they appear to have no beard, or at most only a few straggling hairs, which they have

neglected to pluck ont. I am, however, of opinion, that if the Indians were to shave, they would never have beards, altogether so thick as the Europeans ; and there are some to be met with, who have actually very little beard.'

"The beardlessness of the natives at Nootka Sound is ascribed by Cook entirely to their practice of eradication ; and the same opinion is expressed respecting the Chopunnish, a tribe on Lewis's river, which joins the Columbia, by Captains LEWIS and CLARKE, who are of opinion that several of them would have good beards if they adopted the practice of shaving.

"PEROUSE reports that about one-half of the adult Indians in New California had beards, which in some were ample : that he could not ascertain whether the deficiency observed in the others arose from natural defect, or from the beard being plucked out.

"The genuine Negroes have very little growth of hair on the chin, or on other parts of the body. In a full-grown lad of seventeen, there was not the smallest appearance of beard, nor of hair on any other part except the head. I never saw any hair on the arms, legs, or breasts of Negroes, like what is observed on those parts in Europeans." 213-218.

"10. In the first, or white variety of man, to which BLUMENBACH has given the epithet *Caucasian*, including the ancient and modern inhabitants of Europe, the western Asiatics, or those on this side of the Caspian Sea, the rivers Ob and Ganges, and the northern Africans ;—in a word, nearly all

the inhabitants of the world as known to the ancients, the skull presents the finest intellectual organization; proportions indicating the greatest predominance of the rational faculties over the instruments of sense and of the common animal wants. The upper and front parts of the skull are more developed than in any other variety, and their ample swell completely hides the face, when we survey the head according to the *norma verticalis*. The facial line must, therefore, be nearly vertical: and the facial angle nearly a right angle. The face is comparatively small, and its outlines rounded, without anything harsh or unpleasantly prominent. The cheek-bones are small, and do not stand out, but descend in a nearly straight line from the external angular process of the frontal bone. The alveolar margin of the jaws is rounded; and the front teeth are perpendicular in both. The chin is full and prominent.

“ Since this conformation is exhibited in the various nations of Europe, its leading traits must be familiar. As a specimen, I have selected from the third decade of BLUMENBACH’S work the skull of a Georgian woman, because it comes from a quarter near the supposed original seat of our race, and from a tribe celebrated for personal beauty. From the elegance and symmetry of its formation, it may be regarded as the model of a female head; and is certainly far preferable in this point of view, to that of

“ The bending statue which enchants the world.”

GALL and SPURZHEIM judiciously observed that the

head of the VENUS was too small for an intellectual being; and that the goddess of Love was thus represented as an idiot. In this Georgian head the physical and moral attributes are well combined; the personal charms, which enchant the senses, are joined to those rational endowments which command esteem and respect, and satisfy the judgment.

“The form of this head is of such distinguished elegance, that it attracts the attention of all who visit the collection; in which it is contained. The vertical and frontal regions form a large and smooth convexity, which is a little flattened at the temples; the forehead is high and broad, and carried forwards perpendicularly over the face. The cheek-bones are small, descending from the outer side of the orbit, and gently turned back. The superciliary ridges run together at the root of the nose, and are smoothly continued into the bridge of that organ, which forms an elegant and finely-turned arch. The alveolar processes are softly rounded, and the chin is full and prominent. In the whole structure there is nothing rough or harsh; nothing disagreeably projecting. Hence it occupies a middle place between the two opposite extremes of the Mongolian variety, in which the face is flattened, and expanded laterally: and the Ethiopian, in which the forehead is contracted, and the jaws also are narrow and elongated anteriorly.

“BLUMENBACH observes that the form of this head corresponds exactly to that of the marble statue of a nymph in the collection of the late Mr. TOWNLEY, of which he possesses a plaster cast. It tends

also to confirm the testimony of the numerous travellers, who have unanimously concurred in extolling the beauty of the inhabitants of Georgia and the neighboring countries. The expressions of CHARDIN are so warm and animated, that I subjoin the original passage. 'Le sang de Géorgie est le plus beau de l'orient, et je puis dire du monde. Je n'ai pas remarqué un visage laid en ce pais-là, parmi, l'un et l'autre sexe; mais j'y en ai vu d'angeliques. La nature y a répandu sur la plupart des femmes des graces qu'on ne voit point ailleurs. Je tiens pour impossible de les regarder sans les aimer. L'on ne peut peindre de plus charmans visages, ni de plus belles tailles, que celles des Gèorgiennes.' The head of the Jewish girl engraved in PLATE XII. exemplifies equally well the Caucasian formation.

"The characters above described belong to the following people, whether ancient or modern; *viz*, the Syrians and Assyrians, Chaldeans, Medes, Persians, Jews, Egyptians, Georgians, Carcasians, Mingrelians, Armenians, Türks, Arabs, Afghans, Hindoos of high cast, Gipseys, Tartars, Moors and Berbers in Africa, Guanches in the Canary Islands, Greeks, Romans, and all the Europeans except the Laplanders. The enumeration includes all the human races in which the intellectual endowments of man have shone forth in the greatest native vigor, have received the highest cultivation, and have produced the richest and most abundant fruits in philosophy, science and art, in religion and morals, in poetry, eloquence, and the fine arts, in civili-

zation and government ; in all that can dignify and ennoble the species. We cannot, therefore, wonder that they should in all cases have not merely vanquished, but held in permanent subjection, all the other races.

“ Much uncertainty has prevailed respecting the physical characters of the ancient Egyptians : and some have maintained the opinion that they were Negroes. The question is certainly interesting, particularly if it should appear that this opinion is well grounded. That a race ever devoted, within the period embraced by authentic history, to slavery, or to an independent existence not much better, and possessing, under the most favorable circumstances, only the rudiments of the common arts, and the most imperfect social institutions, should have accomplished in the remotest antiquity undertakings which astonish us even now by their grandeur, and prove so great a progress, in civilization and social life, in arts and sciences ; that they should have subsequently lost all traces of this surprising progress, and never have exhibited the smallest approximation to such a pre-eminence in any other instance, would be a fact extremely difficult to explain.

“ Egypt was venerated even by antiquity, as the birthplace of the arts, and still retains innumerable monuments of their former splendor, after so many ages of desolation. Her principal temples, and the palaces of her kings, still subsist, although the least ancient of them were constructed before the war of Troy. With our present experience of

the capacity of Negroes, and our knowledge of the state in which the whole race has remained for twenty centuries, can we deem it possible that they should have achieved such prodigies? that HOMER, LYCURGUS, SOLON, PYTHAGORAS, and PLATO, should have resorted to Egypt to study the sciences, religion, and laws, discovered and framed by men with black skin, woolly hair, and slanting forehead?

“The situation of Egypt favors the notion of a mixed population, which may have flowed in at various times from different quarters of Africa, Asia, and Europe.

“The Caucasian races of Arabia, Syria, and the surrounding parts, must have found their way into this fertile and flourishing country: the Red sea offers an easy medium of communication both with Arabia and India; while the freest access exists on the south and west to the Negroes and Berbers of Africa. Hence specimens of various races may be naturally expected to occur among the mummies; and may have afforded models to the painter and sculptor. If, however, among the myriads of embalmed bodies, of the sculptured figures, which cover the walls of temples and palaces, and of other works of art, we should meet with one or two of Negro formation, are we thence to conclude that the original Egyptians were Negroes? or that men of the latter race possessed those distinguished powers of knowledge and reflection, which the early history of this wonderful country compels us to assign to its ruling race? Ought we not rather to draw our conclusions from the most prevalent

forms, those which are most numerous and abundant in the oldest specimens? If, among a profusion of mummies and figures, bearing the stamp of the Caucasian model, a few should occur with a little dash of the Negro character, may we not suppose the individuals who furnished the pattern of the latter to have been in Egypt, as they have been everywhere, slaves to the race of nobler formation? To give the new Negroes the glory of all the discoveries and achievements of this first civilized race, and overlook the more numerous individuals of different character, would be in opposition to the invariable tenor of our experience respecting human nature." 227—231.

"11. I proceed to an osteological examination of the mummy heads; which, if performed with accuracy and discrimination, will supply us with sure data, as far as they go. We shall find that the bodies thus preserved have the characters of the Caucasian variety, and we shall hardly discover, among a great multitude of examples, a single unequivocal instance of Negro formation."

"In his *Decades Craniorum*, No. I, and XXXI, BLUMENBACH has represented two Egyptian skulls. The first bears no marks of Ethiopian origin, nor does the author assign to it any such characters. 'In universum hujus cranii habitus eundem characterem præ se ferre videtur, quem et ingentia, Ægyptiacæ artis veteris opera spirant, non quidem elegantem et pulchellum, ast magnum.' P. 13.

"The European or Caucasian character of the second is quite obvious; yet, in the description,

there appears a desire of fixing on it some mark of Negro descent. ‘Quod vero universum vultum attingit, differt quidem ille satis luculenter a genuino iste Nigritarum, qui Anglis vulgo facies Guineensis audit; *Æthiopici tamen aliquid spirat*, ita ut proprius absit ab Habessinico, qualem curata icon exhibet, proxime autem ab eo, quem tot antiquissima *Ægyptiacæ artis monumenta præ se ferunt.*’ The Abyssinians, to whom a comparison is here made, are of Arab descent, and have all the characters of the Caucasian variety.

“SOEMMERRING describes the heads of four mummies which he has seen : two of them differed in no respects from the European formation; the third had the African character of a large space marked out for the temporal muscle; no other proof of Negro descent is mentioned, and what is stated concerning the face rather contradicts the supposition : the characters of the fourth are not particularized.

“‘Caput mumie, quod Cassellis in museo servatur, nil fere ab Europæo differt.

“‘Caput etiam mumie in theatro anatomico Marpurgensi servatum, cujus exacta delineatio ad manus est, nil a capite Europæo deflectit.

“‘Pulcherrima et optime servata, forsan virilis mumie calvaria optimæ ætatis, qua me MIEG, Professor Basileensis benevole donavit, quæque olim in collectione F. PLATERI fuit, distincte formam Africanam, *alte progrediente vestigio insitionis musculi temporalis*, repræsentat; vertex non est compressus, *neque ossa faciei robustiora sunt ossibus Europæorum.* Densum ordinem integri pulchri dentes sis-

tunt, non isi inferiores incisores et canini oblique priora et inferiora versus attenuati sunt, plurimum vero medium incisorum par, brevioribus ea de causa coronis instructum.

“‘Calvaria mumie hominis senis confecti, ab eodem MIEG mihi data, Ægyptiacam ossium faciei formam minus accurate repræsentat, verum dentes incisores exteriores inferiores, et dentes canini modo quem suprà indicavi, se habent; distant nimirum inter se, et in planum sunt attenuati.’

“Denon states of the female mummies, ‘que leurs cheveux étoient longs et lisses; que le caractère de la tête de la plupart tenoit du beau style. Je rapportois une tête de vieille femme, qui étoit aussi belle que celles des Sibylles de MICHEL ANGE.

“The embalmed heads from the catacombs of Thebes (Quournah,) engraved in the great French work, are of the finest European form, to which their abundant, long, and slightly flowing hair fully corresponds. There is a male head, with the broad and fully developed forehead, small perpendicular face, and all the contours of our best models. ‘L’angle facial se rapproche beaucoup d’un angle droit; et les dents incisives sont plantées verticalement, et non inclinées ni avancées, comme elles le seroient dans une tête de Nègre.’ The nose is finely arched; the jaws perpendicular; the mouth and chin well-formed. The front and profile views of a female head are of the same character; the face completely European, the hair copious, and disposed in small masses or locks, a little turned. The

same remarks are also applicable to another head, of which a section is also exhibited.

“The skulls of four mummies in the possession of Dr. LEACH, of the British Museum, and casts of three others, agree with those just mentioned in exhibiting a formation not differing from the European, without any trait of Negro character.

“Lastly, so far as osteological proofs go, the question may be considered as completely decided by the strong evidence of CUVIER.

“‘It is now clearly proved—yet it is necessary to repeat the truth, because the contrary error is still found in the newest works—that neither the Gallas (who border on Abyssinia) nor the Bosjesmen, nor any race of Negroes, produced that celebrated people who gave birth to the civilization of ancient Egypt, and from whom we may say that the whole world has inherited the principles of its laws, sciences, and perhaps also the religion.

“‘BRUCE even imagines that the ancient Egyptians were Cushites, or woolly-haired Negroes; he supposes them to have been allied to the Shangallas of Abyssinia.

“‘Now that we distinguish the several human races by the bones of the head, and that we possess so many of the ancient Egyptian embalmed bodies, it is easy to prove that, whatever may have been the hue of their skin, they belonged to the same race with ourselves; that their cranium and brain were equally voluminous; in a word, that they formed no exception to that cruel law, which seems to have doomed to eternal inferiority all the tribes

of our species which are unfortunate enough to have a depressed and compressed cranium.

“‘I present the head of a mummy, that the Academy may compare it to those of Europeans, Negroes, and Hottentots. It is detached from an entire skeleton, which I did not bring on account of its brittleness; but its comparison has furnished the same results. I have examined, in Paris, and in the various collections of Europe, more than fifty heads of mummies, and not one amongst them presented the characters of the Negro or Hottentot.’

“By examination of the bony head we learn that the Guanches also, or the race which occupied the Canary Islands at the time of their first discovery by the Europeans in the fourteenth century, belonged to the Caucasian variety. The name Guanches signifies men or sons in their language. The Spaniards, who conquered them, represent them as a people of strength and courage, of powerful bodies and intelligent minds, advanced in social institutions, and of pure morals. They made the bravest resistance to their European invaders, who did not completely subject them until after a hundred and fifty years of repeated contests. They had a tradition of their descent from an ancient, great, and powerful people.

“We now know them, as we do the Egyptians, only by their mummies, the race being completely extinct. The entire head, engraved in BLUMENBACH’S fifth Decade, offers no essential difference from the European form.

“The testimony of CUVIER is to the same effect.

'I present to the Academy the head of a Guanche; a specimen of that race which inhabited the Canaries before they were conquered by the Spaniards. Some authors, believing the tales of Timæus concerning the Atlantis, have regarded the Guanches as the wreck of the supposed Atlantic people. Their practice of preserving dead bodies in the mummy form might rather lead us to suspect some affinity to the ancient Egyptians. However that may be, their head, like that of the Egyptian mummies, demonstrates their Caucasian origin. 233-237.

"12. The tribes in the south of Africa, that is, near the European colony at the Cape—the Hottentots, Kaffers, Bosjesmen, &c., are not enough yet known to enable us to decide whether they ought to be arranged under the Ethiopian variety, or whether they belong to a different type. BLUMENBACH has figured and described a skull in his last Decade; and, more recently, CUVIER has published an account of a female head. In some points these two specimens differ from each other remarkably.

"In the male Bosjesman's head represented by BLUMENBACH, the cranium is less compressed than in the Negro. The orbits and cheek-bones are wide, the jaws not at all prominent, the incisor tooth with their alveoli and chin in the same perpendicular line. The latter is remarkably narrow and sharp. The nasal bones are very small, and nearly in the same plane with the nasal processes of the superior maxillæ.

"'The bony head of our female Bosjesman,' says CUVIER, 'presented a striking combination of

the traits of the Negro with those of the Calmuck. In the Negro the mouth is prominent, the face and cranium compressed laterally : in the Calmuck the jaws are flattened, and the face wide. In both, the bones of the nose are smaller and flatter than in the European. Our Bosjesman had the jaws more projecting than the Negro, the face wider than the Calmuck, and the nose flatter than either. In the latter respect particularly, her head came nearer to that of the monkey than any I ever saw. From these general arrangements many particular traits of structure result ; the orbits are very wide in proportion to their height ; the entrance of the nostrils has a peculiar form ; the palate has a larger surface ; the incisor teeth are more oblique ; the temporal fossa more extensive, &c.

“ ‘ I also find that the occipital foramen is proportionally larger than in other heads ; which, according to the views of SOEMMERRING, would indicate an inferior nature.’

“ The characters of the Ethiopian variety, as observed in the genuine Negro tribes, may be thus summed up : 1. Narrow and depressed forehead ; the entire cranium contracted anteriorly : the cavity less, both in its circumference and transverse measurements. 2. Occipital foramen and condyles placed farther back. 3. Large space for the temporal muscles. 4. Great development of the face. 5. Prominence of the jaws altogether, and particularly of their alveolar margins and teeth ; consequent obliquity of the facial line. 6. Superior incisors slanting. 7. Chin receding. 8. Very large

and strong zygomatic arch projecting towards the front. 9. Large nasal cavity. 10. Small and flattened ossa nasi, sometimes consolidated, and running into a point above.

"In all the particulars just enumerated, the Negro structure approximates unequivocally to that of the monkey. It not only differs from the Caucasian model, but is distinguished from it in two respects; the intellectual characters are reduced, the animal features enlarged and exaggerated. In such a skull as that represented in the eighth plate, which indeed has been particularly selected, because it is strongly characterized, no person, however little conversant with natural history or physiology, could fail to recognise a decided approach to the animal form. This inferiority of organization is attended with corresponding inferiority of faculties; which may be proved, not so much by the unfortunate beings who are degraded by slavery, as by every fact in the past history and present condition of Africa." 245—246.

"13. The observations in the following chapter, respecting the varieties of form in general, include the subjects of national features and form of the skull. I shall only make a few remarks here on some attempts at explaining the latter subjects.

"Climate has generally been brought forward as the cause of the varieties that distinguish man. It has been almost universally represented as the source of differences in color, and not much less depended on for solving the great problem of varieties of form. 'The inquiry into the causes of difference

of features is exposed,' says BLUMENBACH, 'to such serious difficulties, that we can only expect to arrive at a problem solution.

" 'That climate is the principle agent in producing difference of features is proved to my satisfaction by three arguments.

" '1. In the natives of certain regions a national countenance is so common and universal in persons of all conditions, that it can be referred to no other cause. The Chinese may serve as an example; the characteristic flattened countenance being as general among them, as great symmetry and beauty are among the English and Majorcans.

" '2. Unless I am greatly deceived, there are instances of people who, after leaving their old abodes, have in progress of time assumed new features, corresponding to their new situations. Thus the Yakuts are referred, by those who have investigated northern antiquities, to the Tartar race: but their countenance is now completely Mongolian, according to the reports of the most accurate observers, and to a Yakut skull in my collection. Thus also it has been observed that the Creole offspring of European parents in the West India Islands have, in some degree, exchanged their native British features for those characteristic of the American aborigines, and have acquired their deeper eyes and higher cheeks.' He adds, that the northern invaders, who have at different times entered India, have gradually assumed the character which the climate has impressed on the native Hindoos.

" '3. Nations, which can be deemed only colon-

ies of one and the same race, have acquired different characteristic countenances in different climates. It is now proved that the Hungarians and Laplanders come from one stock. The latter have acquired, in their northern abodes, the cast of countenance peculiar to the inhabitants of those cold regions; while the former have assumed a more elegant formation in their milder seats near Greece and Turkey.'

"That so able a writer could find no better proofs in support of his opinion, only shows how completely unfounded that opinion is.

"The flat face of the Chinese not only extends throughout that vast empire, which covers nearly forty degrees of latitude, and seventy of longitude, but also over the neighboring regions of Central and Northern Asia, the north of Europe, and of America; over a very large portion of the globe, including every possible variety of heat and cold, elevation and lowness, moisture and dryness, wood, marsh, and plain.

"That European Creoles in the West Indies, in America, and in the East, have preserved their native features in all instances where no intermixture of blood has occurred, is proved by the uninterrupted experience of the Spaniards, Portuguese, and English, who have had foreign colonies, in climates most different to their own, longer than any other nation.

"If the Yakuts, which are now decidedly Mongolian in their features, had originally the Caucasian formation, and if the northern invaders of In-

dia have assumed the Hindoo countenance, the change must have been affected by intermarriages. All who have visited India and attentively examined its various people, unanimously represent that the Afghauns and Mongols of pure blood are at this moment just as distinct in features from the Hindoos, as the parent races are in their original seats.

“Respecting the case of the Hungarians and Laplanders, if we admit their descent from one stock, which is probable, let us next ascertain what the amount of the differences between them may be, and then inquire whether mixture with other races may not have produced these.

“BLUMENBACH proceeds to observe, that the intermixture of races has a great effect in modifying the natural countenance; and that the ancient Germans, the modern Gipseys, and the Jews, afford examples of peculiar and distinctive casts of countenance being preserved in every climate. These well-known facts are quite sufficient to overturn the hypothesis which refers the difference of features to climate; and a short examination of the races in any part of the world will soon supply numerous additional ones. Indeed, I do not know a single well-established fact or sound argument in its favor.

“Some have even attempted to show how climate might operate in producing national features. ‘*En effet,*’ says VOLNEY, ‘*j’observe que la figure des Nègres représente précisément cet état de contraction que prend notre visage lorsqu’il est frappé par la lumière et une forte réverbération de chaleur.*

Alors le sourcil se fonce ; la pomme des joues s'élève ; la paupière se serre ; la bouche fait la moue. Cette contraction, qui a lieu perpétuellement dans le pays nud et chaud des Nègres, n'a-t-elle pas dû devenir la caractère propre de leur figure ? Unfortunately for these speculations, the Negro features occur in numerous tribes spread over a great extent of country, with various climates, and in many instances where the heat is by no means excessive ; the character, too is permanent, after any number of generations, when the Negroes are taken into other climes. Again the most opposite features occur under similar climates in different parts of the world. There are races with flattened countenances as well with narrow and elongated visages in hot countries. The whole notion is, however, so fanciful and so unphilosophic, that it hardly deserves serious attention ; and I therefore regret to find that the idea is so far countenanced by an instructive writer on this subject, that he speaks of the numerous gnats which annoy the New Hollanders as contributing to the formation of their peculiar physiognomy.

“The custom of carrying the children on the back has been referred to, in order to explain the flat nose and swollen lips of the Negro. In the violent motions required in their hard labor, as in beating or pounding millet, &c., the face of the young one is constantly thumping against the back of the mother. This account is seriously quoted by BLUMENBACH.

“The testimonies concerning the employment of

pressure, in order to flatten the nose, are so numerous and circumstantial, that we cannot doubt of the attempt being made. It is practised among the Negroes, Hottentots, Brazilians, Sumatrans, and South Sea Islanders: we have, however, no proof that the figure of the part is ever changed by such attempts; while, on the contrary, it can be shown most clearly, that the well-known flatness of the nose is the natural formation of the organ in the Negro, and the notion of its being produced by pressure is justly ridiculed by that intelligent observer, Dr. WINTERBOTTOM. The children of African parents in Europe, America, and other situations, where there are opportunities of knowing that no means are used to flatten the nose, resemble in all respects those born in Africa. Why, indeed, should artificial causes be adduced to account for the flatness of the part in so many dark-colored races, rather than for its convexity and prominence in others? Do not the various parts of the countenance harmonize equally in both cases? Would it improve a Negro or a Chinese face to introduce into it an aquiline nose? In short, these flat noses have all the characters of natural construction about them, equally with those of a different figure, and exhibit none of the marks of violence and artificial change, which are seen in the foreheads of some Caribs. Moreover, the diversities extend so generally through the whole bony fabric of the head, and are observable in so many parts where external pressure could have no influence, not to mention that they consist, in many instances, of formations just the reverse of

what pressure could effect, that we cannot have the smallest hesitation in rejecting entirely the notion of external influence, and ascribing them to native variety. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact, that all the peculiarities of the Negro cranium exist in the fœtus; that the prominent jaws, flat nose, and all other characters, are found as strongly marked in the youngest embryo, as in the adult.

“‘I examined,’ says SOEMMERRING, ‘a Negro embryo and a child only a few months old, and found the jaws as prominent, the lower part of the nose as broad and flat as in the parents. There was no vestige of any violence; but the form of the nose was naturally different from that of white children. CAMPER examined several years ago, with the same view, Negroes of various ages, including fœtuses. He observed nothing particular in the nose; but he concluded that this organ will be less prominent, other circumstances remaining the same, when the parts below it come forwards, and that the lips must be larger and thicker in order to cover the teeth completely.

“‘My friend BLUMENBACH asserts, from the examination of two Negro children in the Royal Museum at Gottingen, what BUFFON also maintained, that the flat noses are congenital, not artificial, and refers to the engravings of RUYSCH and SEBA in confirmation of the same point. LODER possesses a Negro embryo of four or five months and a half, in which the peculiar form of the nose and jaws is very plain.’

“These arguments receive a further confirmation

from three of the crania engraved by BLUMENBACH of a Jewish girl, five years old; a Burat child, a year and a half; and a newly-born Negro; in which the characters of the Caucasian, Mongolian, and Ethiopian varieties are as strongly represented as in the heads of adults. As these skulls are very characteristic, I have added an engraving of them to this work." (See PLATE XII.) 262—267.

"14. There are no essential differences in the organs of generation; their construction and functions are the same in the various races of mankind. The Negroes, indeed, have generally been celebrated for the size of a principle member of this apparatus. 'Nigritas mentulatiores esse vulgo ferter. Respondet sane huic asserto insignis apparatus genitalium Æthiopis, quem in supellectill et mea anatomica servo. Num vero constans sit hæc prærogativa et nationi propria, nescio.' Two specimens in the College Museum strongly confirm the common opinion, which is also corroborated by Mr. WHITE, both from dissection and observation of living Negroes. He mentions an instance where the part in question was found on dissection to be twelve inches long. In the living and dead Negroes whom I have seen, there has been no deviation in size from the European formation; but I never injected the part.

"Mr. WHITE observes that many Negroes have no frænum præputii; and that in others it is small and imperfect.

"It has been supposed that the Hottentot women have something peculiar in this part of their organization; that they are distinguished from all other

daughters of Eve by being furnished with a natural fig-leaf of skin, produced from the lower and front part of the abdomen, and covering the sinus pudoris. It has been called a natural apron (tablior, Fr. ; ventrale cutaneum ; schurze, Germ.). Although the native country of these females has been so much visited by Europeans from all quarters for a long series of years, and the structure, according to ordinary descriptions, must be very recognisable, there is a singular discordance among travellers concerning this interesting point in natural history. Some affirm, others altogether deny its existence ; and of the former, hardly any two agree in the precise nature of the peculiarity, some referring it to the labia, some to the nymphæ, others to a peculiar organization ; some deeming it natural, others artificial.

“ This discordance is accounted for in great measure by two circumstances. First, that the peculiar organization is not visible in the ordinary attitude of the body, being concealed between the thighs ;* and, secondly, that it is confined to a particular tribe. It does not exist in the Negroes, where the female organs of generation differ from the Europeans only in color, the Kaffas, the Booshuanas, at least not in a conspicuous degree, or in the Hottentots generally ; but it belongs to that par-

“ * The Hottentot Venus displayed her charms to the French savans at the Jardin du Roi, where ‘ she had the complaisance to undress herself, that she might be drawn naked.’ ‘ On this occasion the most remarkable peculiarity of her formation was not observed ; she kept her ‘ tablier’ carefully concealed, either between her thighs, or still more deeply, and it was not known, till after death, that she possessed it.’ ” Cuvier, *Memoires du Muscum* : pp. 264, 265.

ticular tribe of Hottentots who are called Bosjesmen, or Boschismen.

“This name is equivalent to Bushmen, was given by the Dutch to a diminutive race strongly resembling the Hottentots in general formation. They are wild and fugitive beings, frequently engaged in rapine and plunder, and retiring for security into deserts and thickets; whence their name seems to have been derived. Perpetual warfare existed between these Bushmen and the Dutch, who hunted and destroyed them with as little ceremony as the other wild game of the country. That they remained in the most savage state, and were very rarely seen in the Dutch colony, is easily understood from these circumstances.

“On the authority of LE VAILLANT, and of drawings communicated to him by Sir JOSEPH BANKS, BLUMENBACH describes the peculiarity to consist in an elongation of the labia, and represents it as produced by artificial means. More careful and accurate examinations, both in Africa and Europe, have proved most clearly that it resides in the nymphæ, which acquire a length of some inches, and that the formation is natural.

“SONNERAT had already represented the matter nearly corrected. ‘Le tablier fabuleux qu’on prête à leurs femmes, et qu’on dit leur avoir été donné par la nature, n’a point de réalité; il est vrai qu’on aperçoit dans certaines une excroissance des nymphes qui quelquefois pend de six pouces, mais c’est un phénomène particulier, dont on ne peut pas faire une règle générale.’

“‘The well known story,’ says Mr. BARROW, ‘of the Hottentot women possessing an unusual appendage, to those parts that are seldom exposed to view, which belonged not to the sex in general, is perfectly true with regard to the Bosjesmans. The horde we had met with possessed it to a woman; and, without the least offence to modesty, there was no difficulty in satisfying curiosity. It appeared on examination to be an elongation of the nymphæ or interior labia, more or less extended according to the age or habit of the person. In infancy it is just apparent, and in general may be said to increase in length with age. The longest that was measured somewhat exceeded five inches, which was in a subject of a middle age. Many were said to have them much longer. These protruded nymphæ, collapsed and pendant, appear at first view to belong to the other sex. Their color is that of a livid blue, inclining to a redish tint, not unlike the excrescence on the beak of a turkey, which indeed may serve to convey a tolerable good idea of the whole appearance both as to color, shape, and size. The interior lips or nymphæ in European subjects which are corrugated or plaited, lose entirely that part of their character, when brought out in the Hottentot, and become perfectly smooth. Though in the latter state they may possess none of those stimulating qualities, for which some anatomists have supposed nature to have formed them, they have at least the advantage of serving as a protection against violence from the other sex, it seeming next to impossible for a man to cohabit

with one of these women without her consent, or even assistance.'

"Mr. BARROW adds, that 'the elongated nymphæ are found in all Hottentot women, only they are shorter in those of the colony, seldom exceeding three inches, and in many subjects appearing merely as a projecting orifice, or an elliptical tube of an inch or less in length. In the *bastard* (offspring of European father and Hottentot mother) it ceases to appear.' He observes again, of the Namaaquas, that 'they had the same conformation of certain parts of the body as the Bosjesman women, and other Hottentots; in a less degree, however, than is usual in the former, and more so than in those of the latter.'

"This account is fully confirmed by the accurate descriptions of Dr. SOMERVILLE, who speaks from ample opportunities of observation and dissection. He states that the mons veneris is less prominent than in Europeans; and either destitute of hair or thinly covered by a small quantity of a soft woolly nature: that the labia are very small, insomuch that they seem sometimes to be almost deficient: that the loose, pendulous, and rugous growth, which hangs from the pendum, is a double fold, and proved by the situation of the clitoris at the commissure of these folds, as well as by all other circumstances, to be the nymphæ; and that they descend in some cases five inches below the margin of the labia.

"The description by CUVIER of the individual publicly exhibited in London and Paris, under the name of the Hottentot Venus, agrees entirely with

Dr. SOMERVILLE's account. He found the labia small; a single prominence descended between them towards the upper part; it divided into two lateral portions, which passed along the sides of the vagina to the inferior angle of the labia. The whole length was about four inches.

"This formation often has been ascribed to artificial elongation. 'The testimony of the people themselves,' says Mr. BARROW, 'who have no other idea, but that the whole human race is so formed, is sufficient to contradict such a supposition; but many other proofs might be adduced to show that the assertion is without any foundation in truth. Numbers of Bosjesman women are now in the colony who were taken from their mothers when infants, and brought up by the farmers, who, from the day of their captivity, have never had any intercourse whatsoever with their countrymen, nor know, except from report, to what tribe or nation they belong; yet all these have the same conformation of the parts naturally, and without any forced means.'

"Dr. SOMERVILLE observes, that if any practice of elongating the nymphæ had existed among the Hottentots, it could not have escaped his knowledge; that they do not wish to have them long, nor take any pains for that purpose. They, who have them longest, are not thought the more beautiful; nor are those slighted, in whom they are short.

"The extension of the nymphæ in the Bosjesman and Hottentot females will appear the less remarkable, when we consider that their size varies in Eu-

ropeans; that they often project beyond the labia, and are of an inconvenient length. A considerable development of these organs is more common in warm climates, and has been noticed in the Negroes, Moors, and Copts, among whom it has been the practice for females to be circumcised.* This point is even noticed by PLINY. When the Abyssinians were converted to Christianity in the sixteenth century, the Catholic missionaries thought fit to forbid circumcision, deeming it a relic of Judaism. As the taste of the men had been formed on the old practice, they did not approve this innovation, and the Catholic girls found that they should get no husbands. In this dilemma the college of the Propaganda sent a surgeon from Rome to examine and report; and, in consequence of his statement, the Pope authorized a renewal of the ancient custom.

“Although it is not immediately connected with

“* In the Appendix, No. 1, entitled ‘An Account of Circumcision as it is practised on the windward coast of Africa,’ to the second volume of his very interesting account of the native Africans, Dr. Winterbottom informs us, that this operation is performed on the females as well as the males; and that it is equally common to both sexes in many parts of Arabia, at Bagdad, Aleppo, and Surat, in Egypt, Abyssinia and the neighbouring countries. ‘Among the Mahomedan nations on this part of the coast (Sierra Leone,) the operation consists in removing the *nymphæ*, together with the *præputium clitoridis*, not the clitoris itself, as has been imagined.’ P. 239. Bruce, who gives a similar account of the circumcision, or, as he calls it, excision, practised in Abyssinia, refers the origin of the custom to a natural redundancy or excess of the parts, on which it is performed. Dr. Winterbottom, however, asserts that on the windward coast of Africa there is no physical reason for it; the redundancy mentioned by Bruce being more rarely met with in these countries than in Europe; ‘and where the custom of circumcision is unknown, which is probably over the greater part of the continent, no complaint is made on this head.’ P. 241.

the generative organs, I may mention here another striking peculiarity in the same women. I mean the vast masses of fat accumulated on their buttocks, and giving to them the appearance of extraordinary and unnatural appendages.

“ ‘The great curvature of the spine inwards, and extended posteriors, are characteristic of the whole Hottentot race; but in some of the small Bosjesmans they are carried to a most extravagant degree.’— ‘The projection of the posterior part of the body in one subject, measured five inches and a half from a line touching the spine. This protuberance consisted of fat, and, when the woman walked, had the most ridiculous appearance imaginable, every step being accompanied with a quivering and tremulous motion, as if two masses of jelly were attached behind.’

“The vibration of these substances at every movement was very striking in the Hottentot Venus. They were quite soft to the feel. She measured more than eighteen inches (French) across the haunches; and the projection of the hips exceeded six inches.

“Dr. SOMERVILLE found on dissection, that the size of the buttocks arose from a vast mass of fat interposed between the skin and muscles; and that it equalled four fingers' breadth in thickness. CUVIER describes the protuberance to be produced by a mass of fat, traversed in various directions by strong cellular threads, and easily removed from the glutei. The Hottentot Venus stated that this deposition of fat does not take place until the first preg-

nancy ; and this statement is confirmed by the testimony of Mr. BARROW.

“It seems almost superfluous to add, that the sacrum and os coccygis have the same size, figure, and direction in these, as in other females ; that the latter bone is not turned backwards, much less prolonged into any resemblance or even approach to a tail.

“If the Negroes and Hottentots approximate in some points to the structure of the monkey kind, as they very certainly do, this particular of the elongated nymphæ is rather an instance of the opposite description. For the corresponding cutaneous folds are barely visible in the simiæ. The tremulous masses of fat with which the glutei are loaded, constitute, on the contrary, according to CUVIER, ‘a striking resemblance to those which appear in the female mandrills, baboons, &c., and which assume, at certain epochs of their life, a truly monstrous development.” 285—291.

“15. In his *Treatise on Tropical Diseases*, Dr. MOSELY observes that ‘the locked-jaw appears to be a disease entirely of irritability. Negroes, who are most subject to it, whatever the cause may be, are void of sensibility to a surprising degree. They are not subject to nervous diseases. They sleep sound in every disease, nor does any mental disturbance ever keep them awake. They bear surgical operations much better than white people ; and what would be the cause of insupportable pain to a white man, a Negro would almost disregard.

I have amputated the legs of many Negroes, who have held the upper part of the limb themselves.'

"Negroes are so seldom affected by the yellow fever, that they have often been said not to be susceptible of it; and there have been instances in which, under a very general prevalence of the complaint, not one has fallen sick. On other occasions some have been seized with this fever; but the number has been small, and they have recovered more easily than the whites.

"If the yellow fever be a highly inflammatory affection, produced by those external causes which are peculiar to hot climates, we shall not be surprised that Negroes, who are organized for, and habituated to such climates, enjoy, when contrasted with the whites, a comparative exemption from its destructive attacks.

"A singular instance is recorded, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, of a very fatal inflammatory fever, which appeared in two islands on the coast of North America (Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard), and was confined entirely to the Indian (American) population; not a single white person having been affected on either island. The whole number of Indians on Nantucket was 340; of these 258 had the distemper, in the course of six months, and only 36 recovered. Of those who did not take the disease, 40 lived in English families, and 8 dwelt separate. In Martha's Vineyard it went through every Indian family into which it came, not one escaping it. Of 52 persons affected, 39 died. A few individuals of mixed breed (European

and Indian), and one of Indian and Negro, had the distemper, but recovered. None, indeed, died but such as were entirely of Indian blood: hence it was called the Indian sickness." 317—318.

"16. After surveying and describing the diversities of bodily formation exhibited in the various races of men, and alluding to a few physiological distinctions, we naturally proceed to a review of their moral and intellectual characters, to examine whether the latter exhibit such peculiarities as the numerous modifications of physical structure lead us to expect; whether the appetites and propensities, the moral feelings and dispositions, and the capabilities of knowledge and reflection, are the same in all, or as different as the cerebral organs, of which they are the functions? If the physical frame and the moral and intellectual phenomena of man be entirely independent of each other, their deviations will exhibit no coincidence; the noblest characters and most distinguished endowments may be conjoined with the meanest organizations: if, on the contrary, the intellectual and moral be closely linked to the physical part, if the former be the offspring and result of the latter, the varieties of both must always correspond.

"The different progress of various nations in general civilization, and in the culture of the arts and sciences, the different characters and degrees of excellence in their literary productions, their varied forms of government, and many other considerations, convince us beyond the possibility of doubt, that the races of mankind are no less char-

acterized by diversity of mental endowments, than by those differences of organization which I have already considered. So powerful, however, has been the effect of government, laws, education, and peculiar habits, in modifying the mind and character of men, that we experience great difficulty in distinguishing between the effects of original difference and of the operation of these external causes.

“From entering at large and minutely into this interesting subject, I am as much prevented by want of the necessary information, as by the immediate object and limited length of these Lectures. To pass it over in silence would be omitting the most important part of the natural history of our species; one of the most interesting views in the comparative zoology of man. I shall therefore submit a few remarks to illustrate the point in view in which the phenomena have appeared to myself, and shall be happy if they incite any of my readers to a further prosecution of the inquiry.

“The distinction of color between the white and black races is not more striking than the pre-eminence of the former in moral feelings and in mental endowments. The latter, it is true, exhibit generally a great acuteness of the external senses, which in some instances is heightened by exercise to a degree nearly incredible. Yet they indulge, almost universally, in disgusting debauchery and sensuality, and display gross selfishness, indifference to the pains and pleasures of others, insensibility to beauty of form, order and harmony, and an almost entire want of what we comprehend al-

together under the expression of elevated sentiments, manly virtues, and moral feeling. The hideous savages of Van Diemen's Land, of New Holland, New Guinea, and some neighboring islands, the Negroes of Congo and some other parts exhibit the most disgusting moral as well as physical portrait of man.

"HERON describes the wretched beings, whom he found on the shores of Van Diemen's Island, and of the neighboring island Maria, as examples of the rudest barbarism: 'without chiefs, properly so called, without Laws or any thing like regular government, without arts of any kind, with no idea of agriculture, of the use of metals, or of the services to be derived from animals: without clothes or fixed abode, and with no other shelter than a mere shed of bark to keep off the cold south winds; with no arms but a club and spear.'

"Although these and the neighboring New Hollanders are placed in a fine climate and productive soil, they derive no other sustenance from the earth than a few fern roots and bulbs of orchises; and are often driven by the failure of their principle resource, fish, to the most revolting food, as frogs, lizards, serpents, spiders, the larvæ of insects, and particularly a kind of large caterpillar found in groups on the branches of the eucalyptus resinifera. They are sometimes obliged to appease the cravings of hunger by the bark of trees, and by a paste made by pounding together ants, their larvæ, and fern-roots.

"Their remorseless cruelty, their unfeeling bar-

barity to women and children, their immoderate revenge for the most trivial affronts, their want of natural affection, are hardly redeemed by the slightest traits of goodness. When we add, that they are quite insensible to distinctions of right and wrong, destitute of religion, without any idea of a Supreme Being, and with the feeblest notion, if there be any at all of a future state, the revolting picture is complete in all its features. What an afflicting contrast does the melancholy truth of this description form to the eloquent but delusive declamations of ROUSSEAU on the prerogatives of natural man and his advantages over his civilized brethren !

“ The same general character, with some softening, and some modifications, is applicable to most of the native Americans, of the Africans, and of the Mongolian nations of Asia ; to the Malays, and the greater part of the inhabitants of the numerous islands scattered in the ocean between Asia and America. In the most authentic descriptions we every where find proofs of astonishing insensibility to the pains and joys of others, even their nearest relations ; inflexible cruelty, selfishness and disposition to cheat, a want of all sympathetic impulses and feelings, the most brutal apathy and indolence, unless roused by the pressure of actual physical want, or stimulated by the desire of revenge and the thirst of blood. Their barbarous treatment of women, the indiscriminate and unrelenting destruction of their warfare, the infernal torments inflicted on their captives, and the horrible practice of canni-

balism, fill the friend of humanity by turns with pity, indignation, and horror." 324—326.

"17. The change in the color of the human skin, from exposure to sun and air, is obviously temporary; for it is diminished, and even removed, when the causes no longer act. The discoloration, which we term tanning, or being sun-burnt, as well as the spots called freckles, are most incidental to fair skins, and disappear when the parts are covered, or no longer exposed to the sun. The children of the husbandman, or of the sailor, whose countenance bears the marks of other climes, are just as fair as those of the most delicate and pale inhabitants of a city: nay, the Moors, who have lived for ages under a burning sun, still have white children; and the offspring of Europeans in the Indies have the original tint of their progenitors.

"BLUMENBACH has been led into a mistake on this point by an English author, who asserts that Creoles are born with a different complexion and cast of countenance from the children of the same parents brought forth in Europe. In opposition to this statement from one who had not seen the facts, I place the authority of LONG, a most respectable eye-witness, who, in his *History of Jamaica*, affirms, that 'the children born in England have not, in general, lovelier or more transparent skins than the offspring of white parents in Jamaica.' The 'austrum spirans vultus et color,' which the above-mentioned acute and learned naturalist ascribes to the Creole, is merely the acquired effect of the climate, and not a character existing at birth." 347-348.

"18. I proceed to show that climate does not cause the diversities of mankind ; and in this consideration, my remarks are chiefly directed to the color of the skin, as that is the part in which its operation has been regarded, by all the defenders of its influence as the most unequivocal ; the reasoning, however, will apply in general to the other points of difference, as well as to this.

"The uniform color of all parts of the body is a strong argument against those who ascribe the blackness of the Negro to the same cause as that which produces tanning in white people, namely, the sun's rays. The glans penis, the cavity of the axilla, the inside of the thigh, are just as black as any other parts ; indeed, the organs of generation, which are always covered, are among the blackest parts of the body. Neither is the peculiar color of the Negro confined to the skin ; a small circle of the conjunctiva, round the cornea, is blackish, and the rest of the membrane has a yellowish brown tinge. The fat has a deep yellow colour like beeswax, at least in many of them, which may be distinguished by a very superficial inspection, from that of an European. The representation that the brain of the Negro is darker colored than that of the white races, is not correct.

"The development of the black color in the individual does not accord with the notion of its being produced by external causes. 'Negro children,' says Dr. WINTERBOTTOM, 'are nearly as fair as Europeans at birth, and do not acquire their colour until several days have elapsed. The eyes of new-

born Negro children are also of a light color, and preserve somewhat of a bluish tinge for several days after birth.'

"CAMPER had an opportunity of observing the change in a Negro child born at Amsterdam. It was at first reddish, nearly like European children; 'on the third day the organs of generation, the folds of skin round the nails, and the areolæ of the breasts were quite black: the blackness extended over the whole body on the fifth and sixth days, and the boy, who was born in a close chamber in the winter, and well wrapped up, according to the custom of the country, in swaddling-clothes, acquired the native color of his race over the whole body excepting the palms and soles, which are always paler, and almost white, in working negroes.'

"On the other hand, a black state of the skin is sometimes partially produced in individuals of the white races. In the fairest women, towards the end of pregnancy, spots of a more or less deep black color have been often observed; they gradually disappear after parturition. 'The dark color of the skin,' says WHITE, 'in some particular parts of the body, is not confined either to the torrid or frigid zones: for in England, the nipple, the areola round the nipple, the pudenda, and the verge of the anus, are of a dark brown, and sometimes as black as in Samoide women. It is to be remarked that the color of these parts grows darker in women at the full period of gestation. One morning I examined the breasts of twenty women in the lying-in hospital in Manchester, and found that nineteen of them

had dark-colored nipples; some of them might be said to be black, and the areola round the nipple, from one inch to two inches and a half in diameter, was of the same color.' LE CAT mentions a woman near Paris, in whom the abdomen became black at each pregnancy, and afterwards recovered its color; in another the same change occurred in the leg.

"CAMPER dissected at Groningen a young woman who died in childbed; her abdomen, and the areola round the nipples, were of a deep black. The face, arms, and legs were of a snowy whiteness.

"The species of domestic fowls in the East Indies with black periosteum, affords a further proof that the operation of the sun's rays is not a necessary circumstance to the production of color in animal bodies.

"If we take the trouble of examining the races in any particular division of the world, we shall quickly find that the opinion, which ascribes their distinguishing characters to climate must be given up; that the same race inhabits the most different regions, preserving in all an uniformity of character; that different races are found in the same countries, and that those, who have changed their native abodes for situations, in which, according to the hypothesis, they ought to have undergone a complete metamorphosis, still retain their original distinctions.

"In the north of Europe, as also in the north of Asia and America, that is, in countries nearest to the pole, in which, according to the opinion above

stated, the whitest races ought to be found, we have very brown and black people : they are much darker colored than any other Europeans. The Moors in Africa, and the Arabs of the desert, are born with a white skin, and continue fair unless adventitious causes are applied. But the Laplanders and Greenlanders, the Esquimaux, Samoiedes, Ostiaks, Tschutski, &c., who hardly ever feel a moderate heat from the rays of the sun, are very dark. They appear to be all of the same race, who have extended and multiplied along the coasts of the North Sea, in deserts, and under climates which could not be inhabited by other nations. They have broad large faces and flat noses, the olive or swarthy color, and all the other colors of the Mongolian variety.

“It is curious to observe how easily the asserters of the power of climate in changing the human body get over an instance so fatal to their opinions : they tell us roundly that great cold has the same effect as great heat : ‘when the cold becomes extreme, it produces effects similar to those of violent heat. The Samoiedes, Laplanders, and natives of Greenland are very tawny ; we are even assured that some of the Greenlanders are as black as the Africans ; thus the two extremes approach each other ; great cold and great heat produce the same effect upon the skin, because each of these causes act by a quality common to both ; and this quality is the dryness of the air, which, perhaps, is equally great in extreme cold and extreme heat. Both cold and heat dry the skin, and give it that tawny hue which we find among the Laplanders. Cold con-

tracts all the productions of nature. The Laplanders, accordingly, who are perpetually exposed to all the rigours of the frost, are the smallest of the human species.'

"If this reasoning should not convince us, there are other arguments in reserve. The state of society is said to have great effect on the conformation and color of the body. The nakedness of the savage, the filthy grease and paint with which he smears his body, his smoky hut, scanty diet, want of cleanliness, and the undrained and uncleared country which he inhabits, not only, according to SMITH, darken his skin, but render it impossible that it ever should be fair. On the other hand, the conveniences of clothing and lodging; the plenty and healthful quality of food; a country drained, cultivated, and freed from noxious effluvia; improved ideas of beauty, the constant study of elegance, and the infinite arts for attaining it, even in personal figure and appearance, give cultivated an immense advantage over savage society in its attempts to counteract the influence of climate, and to beautify the human form. What false notions must mankind have hitherto entertained on this subject! We can no longer believe travellers, who tell us that the finest forms and the greatest activity are to be seen in savage tribes, and that no ill-formed individuals can be met with amongst them: and as little can we trust the testimony of our own senses, concerning the frequency of deformity and disease in civilized society; since there are so many reasons why the former should be deformed, black, and

ugly, and the latter well-proportioned, fair and handsome. Unluckily, however, this theory does not correspond with a few plain facts. Most of the modern European nations existed in a more or less complete state of barbarism within times of which we have the most authentic records: some of these were seen and described by philosophers; yet the permanence of their characters is so remarkable after a greater progressive civilization than has happened in any other instance, that those descriptions are applicable with the greatest exactness to the same races of the present day. Instead, therefore, of accounting for the dark color, peculiar features, and stature of the Greenlander, Laplander, and Samoide, from their smoke, their dirt, their food, or the coldness of the climate, we can have no hesitation in ascribing them to the same cause that makes the Briton and the German of this day resemble the portraits of their ancestors, drawn by Cæsar and Tacitus, viz: their descent from a race marked by the same characters as distinguish themselves. These tribes owe their origin to the Mongols, and retain in the north those marks of their descent, which we find so strongly expressed in the Chinese, under the widely different latitudes of the south. At the same time, the parent tribes live in the middle of Asia, equally removed from the former and the latter.

“ ‘With slight exceptions,’ says Dr. PRITCHARD, ‘the different countries of Europe are now occupied by the same nations that have occupied them since the date of our earliest authentic accounts.

Conquests have been made by small numbers, so that the races have been little changed by this cause. Thus, when CLOVIS and his thirty thousand Franks reduced the large and populous province of Gaul under their dominion, the bodily characters and the language of the conquerors were lost in those of the conquered. The nations which have inhabited Europe for the last twenty-five hundred years, consist of three great races, distinguished from each other by their bodily formation, character, and language.

“ 1. The Celtic race, with black hair and eyes, and a white skin verging to brown, occupies the west of Europe: to this belong the ancient and modern inhabitants of France, Spain, Portugal, and the greatest part of Italy; the ancient Britons, Welsh, Bretons, Irish, Scotch, and Manks. The resemblance of the Silures to the Iberi was noticed by TACITUS; it is obvious to every observer in the present time; nor is the observation peculiar to the Welsh; it holds good of all other Celtic nations. ‘*Silurum colorati vultus, et torti plerumque crines, et posita contra Hispania, Iberos veteres trajecisse, easque sedes occupasse, fidem faciunt.*’ That black hair and a browner complexion belonged to all the Celts, is not only proved by many direct observations, but also because the marks of the sanguine constitution were universally considered as the distinction of the German race.

“ 2. The great German race, characterized by its blue eyes, yellow or reddish hair, fair and red skin, occupies the middle of Europe, and includes

the Swedes, Norwegians, Icelanders, Danes, ancient and modern Germans, Saxons and English, Caledonians or Pictæ, and the Lowland Scotch, who have sprung from them, the inhabitants of the Low Countries, the Vandals and Goths, &c. Historical records, and the similarity of language and character both of body and mind, prove that all these people belong to the same race.

“ ‘3. The east of Europe contains the Sarmatian and Slavonic tribes, characterized by dark hair and eyes, and a darker skin than the German, with perhaps larger limbs than the Celts. To this division belong the Russians, Poles, Croats, Slavons, Bohemians, Bulgarians, Cossacks, and others who speak the Slavonic language.’ He proceeds to show from DIODORUS SICULUS, that the Sarmatians descended from the Medes, and were found on the banks of the Tanais, 700 years before the Christian era; by the authority of HERODOTUS, that they occupied the country between the Tanais and the Borysthenes, when DARIUS HYSTASPES invaded Syria; and from CLUVERIUS, that the coasts of the Baltic, the banks of the Vistula, Prussia, and the country as far as the situation of the Finni and Vendedi, were the ancient seats of the Sarmatians. Since then, a people of very different race have existed in the neighborhood of the Germans from the most remote times, how can we explain the differences of the European nations, by the operation of climate, by heat and cold? How does the same sky cause the whiteness of the German and Swede, and the comparatively dark complexion of the Pole and Russian?

“ But these European races are found also in Asia and Africa. All that part of the former region, which lies to the west of the river Ob, the Caspian Sea, and the Ganges ; all the north of Africa, Abyssinia, and perhaps other parts still farther south, on the east, are occupied by a race agreeing nearly in character with the Sarmatians and Celts.

“ Thus it appears that, excepting the Germans, and the Laplanders and Samoides, whom we deem of Mongolian origin, the same native or congenital constitution prevails over the whole of Europe, the western parts of Asia and the north of Africa. Black hair, dark eyes, and a white skin, tending rather to a brownish tint, than to the peculiar whiteness of the German tribes, belong to the French, Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians and all the Celts ; to the Russians, Poles, and others of Slavonic origin ; to the Tartars, commonly confounded with the Mongols, the Armenians, Persians, Circassians, and Georgians, the Turks, Greeks, Arabians, Abyssinians, Syrians, Jews, and the inhabitants of Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco. That climate cannot cause similarity of character in nations spread over fifty degrees of latitude, and that food, dress, state of civilization, peculiar customs, or other moral causes, are equally inefficacious in accounting for the phenomenon, when we consider how various in all these points the nations are in whom it occurs, will be allowed by every unprejudiced observer.

“ The middle and northern parts of Asia, and most of its eastern portion, are occupied by tribes and nations, all of which possess the general char-

acters of the Mongolian variety, although distinguished from each other by such modifications as usually characterize separate people. They are distinct in their conformation from all other races, and differ from Europeans quite as decidedly as the Negroes. History points out as their original seat, the elevated central table-land of Asia, from which they have spread in various directions, according to circumstances, every where preserving their peculiar traits of organization. The Mongols, Calmucks, and Burats, are three great divisions, of which each includes many tribes, scattered over the middle of Asia, leading generally a pastoral life, sometimes practising agriculture, and devoted universally to the idolatrous lama-worship. Their first distinct appearance in history is under the name of Huns (Hiong-nu of the Chinese) in the first century of the Christian era, when they were impelled towards the west by the progress of the Chinese power. Afterwards three great conquerors appeared among them at distant periods; the most conspicuous that the world has ever seen, who made all Asia and Europe tremble, but happily, appeared and vanished like meteors; because, though powerful in conquest and desolation, they knew not how to possess and govern. **ATTILA**, with his Huns, penetrated into the centre of Europe. Eight centuries later, **ZINGIS** or **DSCHINGIS KHAN** united not only the Mongolian but the Tartaric tribes, and with this formidable mass reduced nearly all Asia. In two hundred years more, **TIMURLENG** or **TAMERLANE** appeared, and rendered himself the terror of

western Asia and India, which latter country has been ruled by his descendants until very modern times. The Mantchoos or Mandshurs, the Maourians, Tungooses, Coreans, Kamschatkans, and perhaps other tribes, on the east, the Yakuts, Samoiedes, Kirgises, on the West, the people of Thibet and Bootan on the south, have a similar organization to that of the central tribes. The empires of China and Japan, the islands of Sagalien, Lew-chew, and Formosa, are peopled by races of analogous physical and moral characters. Short stature, olive-coloured skin, deviating into lighter yellow, coarse, straight, and perfectly black hair, broad flat face, high and broad cheek-bones, flat nose, oblique eyes, entire deficiency or smallness of beard, are the common traits of the numerous people spread over this immense portion of the globe. Besides this general agreement of the tribes occupying countries so distant and different from each other, it is important to observe that the Samoiedes, Kamschatkans, and others in the colder northern parts, are darker colored than the Chinese, Tunkinese, and Cochin Chinese in the warm southern regions." 357—363.

"19 On the hypothesis, which assigns the varieties of mankind to the operation of climate as their cause, we should expect to find in Africa all tribes under the equator of the most intensely black color; the tinge should become lighter and lighter as we proceed thence towards the south, and the complexion ought to be white when we arrive at regions which enjoy an European climate. This, however,

is by no means the case. The Abyssinians on the east, with dark olive color and long hair, are placed near the equator, and surrounded by Negroes. In the same part also, the Gallas, a great and barbarous nation, having according to BRUCE, long black hair, and white skin verging to brown, occupy extensive regions under the equator itself. On the other hand, as we proceed from the equator towards the south, through tribes of Negroes, we find the black color continue with undiminished intensity. It is known in the West Indies that the Congo Negroes, in the blackness of their skin and woolly hair, equal any race of Africans. PATERSON assures us that the Kaffers within a few degrees of the Cape of Good Hope, where the climate is so far from being intolerably hot, that the corn is often hurt by the winter frost, are of the deepest color; and the same fact is familiarly known of the surrounding tribes.

“The island of Madagascar, which is cooled by the mild breezes of the Indian Ocean, and ought therefore to continue a white race, has two kinds of natives: one of olive color with dark hair; the other true Negroes.

“The Hottentots, at one or two degrees from the deep black Kaffers, are of a brownish-yellow color: this distance can hardly account for the difference.

“When we consider how large an extent of Africa is occupied by the black woolly-haired Negroes, and that these regions vary in their latitude, their elevation, and every other point; that they include sandy deserts, coasts, rivers, hills, valleys, and very

great varieties of climate ; the conclusion that these adventitious circumstances do not influence the color or other properties of the race is irresistible. 365—366.

“ 20. How does it happen, that the same sun, which makes the African black tinges the American of a copper color ? and that the dark hue, which might possibly be produced by heat in the equatorial regions, should be found also in the cold and inhospitable tracts of Tierra del Fuego, and the most northern part of the continent ? The absence of white races can surely not be ascribed to the want of sufficiently cold climates. BOUGAINVILLE found the thermometer, in the middle of summer, $54\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ in lat. 52° south ; and Messrs. BANKS and SOLLANDER, and their attendants, had nearly perished all together from the cold in an excursion in in Tierra del Fuego, in the middle of the summer. Two of the servants were actually lost.

“ A very cursory survey of the globe will show us that the same regions have been occupied by men of different races, without any interchange of characters, in many instances, for several centuries. The Moors and Negroes are found together in Africa ; Europeans, Negroes, and Americans, in North and South America ; Celts, Germans, and Slavons in Europe, and even in the same kingdoms of Europe ; Mongols, Afghans, and Hindoos in India, &c. &c. The distinctions of these different races, except where they have been confused by intermarriages, is just as easy now as it has been in any time, of which we have authentic records.

“The permanency of the characters of and race when it has changed its original situations for a very different one, when it has passed into other climes, adopted new manners, and been exposed to the action of these causes for several generations, affords the most indisputable proof that these characteristics are not the offspring of such adventitious circumstances. From the numerous examples, in every race, which a slight knowledge of history will furnish, I shall select a few of the most striking.

“In the earliest times, to which our historical records ascend, the west of Europe was occupied by Celtic people with brownish white skin, dark hair and eyes; the characters, in short, which are now visible in the Spaniards, most of the French, the native Welsh, the Manks, and the Highland Scotch. The German race, originally situated more to the north and east, have long ago obtained settlements by war and conquest in many of the countries previously peopled by the Celts; but their light rosy skin, flaxen hair and blue eyes, are now, after nearly two thousand years, just as strongly contrasted with the very different traits of the Celtic character, in those situations and those families where the blood has remained pure, as they were originally.

“It was observed by CÆSAR that the Germans had possessed themselves of the Belgic provinces of Gaul, and the contiguous southern parts of Britain. That the Caledonians or Picts (Lowland Scotch), were a German people, is rightly represented by TACITUS, whose description of the natives oc-

cupying this island exhibits the same physical characters, which exist in the present day. ‘*Habitus corporum varii: atque ex eo argumenta; namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus Germanicam originem adseverant. Silurum colorati vultus, et torti plerumque crines, et posita contra Hispania, Iberos veteres trajecisse easque occupasse fidem faciunt: proximi Gallis, et similes sunt: seu durante originis vi, seu procurrentibus in diversa terris, postio cæli, corporibus habitum dedit.*’ Under the names of Saxons, Angles, Danes, and Normans, numerous supplies of Germans successively arrived in England, and gradually drove the original Celtic population into the most distant and inaccessible parts of the island. An exposure to the same climate for so many centuries has not approximated the physical characters of the more recent German to those of the older Celtic inhabitants in the smallest degree; and both descriptions are equally unchanged after a progress from barbarism to the highest civilization. A similar permanence of the original distinctive characters is observable in France. ‘Among us,’ says VOLNEY, ‘a lapse of nine hundred years has not effaced the discriminating marks which distinguished the inhabitants of Gaul from the northern invaders, who, under CHARLES THE GREAT, settled themselves in our richest provinces. Travellers, who go from Normandy to Denmark, observe with astonishment the striking resemblance of the inhabitants of these two countries.’

“The Vandals passed from Spain into Africa

about the middle of the fifth century : their descendants may be still traced, according to SHAW and BRUCE, in the mountains of Aurez, by their white and ruddy complexion and yellow hair. 'Here I met,' says the latter writer, 'to my great astonishment, a tribe, who, if I cannot say they were fair like the English, were of a shade lighter than that of the inhabitants of any country to the southward of Britain. Their hair also was red, and their eyes blue,'—'I imagine them to be a remnant of the Vandals. PROCOPIUS mentions a defeat of an army of this nation here, &c. They confessed their ancestors had been Christians.' The change in the race produced by climate must be infinitely small, since it is not yet perceptible after a lapse of thirteen centuries.

"The establishments of the Europeans in Asia and America have now subsisted about three centuries. VASQUEZ DE GAMA landed at Calicut in 1498; and the Portuguese empire in India was founded in the beginning of the following century. Brazil was discovered and taken possession of by the same nation in the very first year of the sixteenth century. Towards the end of fifteenth, and beginning of sixteenth century, COLUMBUS, CORTEZ, and PIZARRO subjugated for the Spaniards the West India islands, with the empires of Mexico and Peru. Sir WALTER RALEIGH planted an English colony in Virginia in 1584; and the French settlement of Canada has a rather late date. The colonists have, in no instance, approached to the natives of these countries; and their descendants, where the blood

has been kept pure, have at this time, the same characters as native Europeans. In the hotter situations, indeed, as in the warmer countries of Europe, the skin is swarthy in parts of the body which are not covered; but the children, at the time of birth, and women who are never exposed to the sun's rays, have all their native whiteness. This observation admits of no exception: in the tint of the skin, the color and other qualities of the hair, the features, the form of the cranium, the proportions and figure of the body, the European colonists retain all their original characters. The sanguine constitution, with its blue eyes, yellow hair, and fair skin, which is so remarkably different from that of the natives, is nevertheless transmitted without the least alteration from generation to generation.

"Negroes have been introduced into the new world for nearly an equal length of time; in the West Indian Islands, in the United States, in the various parts of Spanish America, they live under new climates, and have adopted new habits. Yet they have still woolly hair, black skins, flat noses, thick lips, and all the other characters of their race.

"The inhabitants of Persia, of Turkey, of Arabia, of Egypt, and of Barbary,* may be regarded in great

* Africa, north of the great desert, has been always inhabited by races of Caucasian formation. The original tribes, called Berbers, or Brebers, have given the name of Barbary to this division of the continent. We know but little of their peculiar physical characters; which, however, probably were similar to those of the ancient Egyptians and Guanches, (see p. 224.) These Berbers, which constituted the people known to the Roman writers by the names of Libyans, Getulians, Numidians, Mauritanians, Garamantes, have received accessions of Phœnicians, (the Carthaginians,) Greeks, Romans, Vandals, and Arabians. The latter parti-

part as the same race of people, who, in the time of MAHOMET and his successors, extended their dominions by invading immense territories. In all these situations the skin retains its native fairness, unless the tint be changed by exposure to the sun; and the children are invariably fair. 'Il n'y a femme de laboureur ou de paysan en Asie (Asia Minor) qui n'a le teint frais comme une rose, la peau delicate et blanche, si polie et si bien tendue, qu'il semble tocher du velours.' The Arabians are scorched by the heat of the sun, for most of them are either covered with a tattered shirt, or go entirely naked: LA BOULLAYE informs us, that the Arabian women of the desert are born fair, but that their complexions are spoiled by being continually exposed to the sun. Another traveller remarks that the Arabian princesses and ladies, whom he was permitted to see, were extremely handsome, beautiful, and fair, because they are always covered from the rays of the sun, but that the common women are very much blackened by the sun.

"The Moors, who have lived in Africa since the seventh century, have not degenerated in their physical constitution from their Arabian progenitors; the sun exerts its full influence on their skin, but their children are just as white as those born in-
cularly entered the north of Africa in great numbers, destroying or driving away the original inhabitants. The general prevalence of Mahometanism, and of the Arabian language, testifies the impression which they made on the country. The remnants of the aboriginal tribes are now principally found in the mountains. They may be traced, however, south of the great desert, and seem to form even considerable states between Tombuctoo and Upper Egypt; where they preserve their distinctive characters in the same climates with the Negro race.

Europe. They are by no means confined to the northern coast, but have penetrated, as the prevalence of the Mahometan religion attests, deeply into the interior : here they dwell in countries, of which the woolly-haired Negro is the native, but have not acquired, in six centuries of exposure to the same causes, any of his characters. The intelligent and accurate SHAW informs us that most of the Moorish women would be reckoned handsome even in Europe ; that the skin of their children is exceedingly fair and delicate ; and though the boys, by being exposed to the sun, soon grow swarthy, yet the girls, who keep more within doors, preserve their beauty till the age of thirty, when they commonly give over child-bearing. 'Les Maures,' says PORRET, 'ne sont pas naturellement noirs, malgré le proverbe, et comme le pensent plusieurs écrivains : mais ils naissent blancs, et restent blancs toute leur vie, quand leurs travaux ne les exposent pas aux ardeurs du soleil. Dans les villes les femmes ont une blancheur si éclatante, qu'elles éclipseroient la plupart de nos Européennes ; mais les Mauresques montagnardes, sans cesse brûlées par le soleil, et presque toujours à 'moitié nues, deviennent, même dès l'enfance, d'une couleur brune qui approche beaucoup de celle de la suie.' The testimony of BRUCE is to the same effect.

"That the swarthiness of the southern Europeans is merely the effect of the sun's action on the individual, whose children are born perfectly white, and continue so unless exposed to the operation of the climate, might be easily proved of the Spaniards

and Portuguese, the Greeks, Turks, &c.; but the fact is too well known to render this necessary.

"The Jews exhibit one of the most striking instances of national formation, unaltered by the most various changes. They have been scattered, for ages, over the face of the whole earth; but their peculiar religious opinions and practices have kept the races uncommonly pure; accordingly their color and their characteristic features are still the same under every diversity of climate and situation.

"The advocates for the power of climate have made very erroneous representations respecting these people; asserting that their color is everywhere modified by the situation they occupy. The Jews, like all the native people adjoining their original seats, have naturally a white skin and the other attributes of the Caucasian race. In hot countries they become brown by exposure, as an European does; but they experience no other influence from climate. Their children are born fair; and the countenance and other characters are everywhere preserved in remarkable purity, because their religion forbids all intermixture with other races. Dr. BUCHANAN met, on the coast of Malabar, with a tribe, who represented that their ancestors had migrated from Palestine after the destruction of the temple by TITUS, and who have preserved their native color and form amidst the black inhabitants of the country, excepting in instances, where they have intermarried with the Hindoos. Those of pure blood are called white Jews, in contradistinction from the others, who are termed black Jews.

“The foregoing facts sufficiently prove, that native differences in general, and particularly that of color, do not depend on extraneous causes; I have an observation or two to make on some other points. That the curled state of the hair in the African is not produced by heat, appears from its being found in many situations not remarkable for high temperature, as in the Moluccas, New Guinea, Mallicollo, Borneo, New Holland, and even in the cold regions of Van Dieman's Land; as well as from the hot regions of Asia and America being inhabited by long-haired races.

“The woolly appearance of the Negro hair is just opposite to that which hot climates have been said to produce in the covering of sheep, in which it is represented that hair is produced instead of wool. When we contrast the hairy coat of the argaili or mouflon with the beautiful fleeces of our most beautiful sheep, we see a prodigious difference, which is probably owing more to cultivation and attention to breed than to climate. It does not appear, at least, that change of climate will convert the wool of an individual English sheep into hair; and it is equally incapable of conferring a woolly covering on the hairy sheep. Dr. WRIGHT, who lived many years in Jamaica, speaking of the opinion that the wool of sheep becomes more hairy in warm climates, says, that in the West India islands there is to be found a breed of sheep, the origin of which he has not yet been able to trace, that carry very thin fleeces of a coarse shaggy kind of wool; which circumstance, he thinks, may naturally have given rise to the report. But he never observed a sheep

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that had been brought from England to carry wool of the same sort with those native sheep: on the contrary, though he has known them live there several years, these English sheep carried the same kind of close burly fleece that is common in England; and, in as far as he could observe, it was equally free from hairs. 369—375.

The reader will see that greatness in Negroes is a moral impossibility. The learned author whom I have just quoted has so completely destroyed every vestige of evidence of Negro intellectual power, that even Negroes themselves would *blush* to hear any white man *blarney* them with the notion that they are mentally our equals. But as there are *humanitarians* in the world who manifest the most intense sympathy for the wrongs of the woolly-headed race, but who never think of the white working-man's wrongs, I deem it advisable to give further evidence, if possible, to convince them that no system of training, education, food, or climate can ever make aught else of a Negro than a Negro. The more I examine the question of races, the more firmly do I believe in the utter incapacity of the Negroes to attain any high state of civilization. Educate, colonize, either into Africa or into Europe, if the latter were possible, and Negro they will remain through all time. This is evident to every man who by careful observation has studied the question of races.

But I resume my plan of giving the opinions of men better qualified to speak on the subject than I am.

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CHAPTER V.

SMITH.

The Natural History of the Human Species, its Typical Forms, Permanent Distribution, Filiations, and Migrations, by Lieut. Col CHARLES HAMILTON SMITH, K. H. and K. W. F. R. and L. S.; President of the Devon and Cornwall Natural Historical Society. Edinburgh: W. H. LIZARS, No. 3 St. James Square; SAMUEL HIGHLEY, 32 Fleet Street, London: 1848.

I DEEM this a work of great erudition and fairness; for, although he has strong predilections in favor of the oppressed and degraded races, which is proven by quotations, yet as he himself states, the naturalist must perform his duty in strictly adhering to truth, fact, and natural laws.

This gentleman proves clearly and demonstrably that the Negro ever has been at the mercy of the white; that the mental powers of the former are far, infinitely far below that of the white. It cannot be denied that this learned gentleman, not at all controlled by what the Negromaniacs call southern influence, so eminently qualified to judge of the races, has arrived at the rational conclusions that the physical organization of the Negro is unequal to that of the Caucasian, and that his mental organization is not any thing better than his physical.

Lieut. Col. SMITH having been located for twelve years in the West Indies, had daily opportunities to examine the difference of races; in fact, he com-

、 menced his investigations in 1797, and continued them during a period of fifty years; great weight will therefore be attached to his deductions, after so long an experience in every quarter of the globe.

“ We doubt, exceedingly, if a mulatto family does, or could exist in any part of the tropics, continued to a fourth generation, from one stock. Perhaps there is not even one of five generations of positive mulattoes (hybrids in the first degree,) from different parents, but that all actually require, for continuity at least, a long previous succession of foreign influences of white or Negro, Mestise, Quar-toon, Sambo, native Indian, or Malay blood, before the sinew and substance of a durable intermediate race can be reared.

“ When the case is referred to Mongolic blood, placed in similar circumstances, or when merely kept approaching to equal proportions with that of a Caucasian or Ethiopian stock, or even with any very aberrant, the effect would be the same. If the moral and instinctive impulses of the beardless stock be taken into account, they will be found to operate with a singularly repulsive tendency. Where the two types come in contact, it produces war, ever aiming, on the Mongolic side, at extermination, and in peace striving at an absolute exclusion of all intercourse with races typically distinct. In the wildest conquering inundations, lust itself, obeying its impulses only by a kind of necessity; myriads of slaves carried off and embodied, still produce only a very gradual influence upon the normalisms of the typical form, and passing into

absorption by certain external appearances, with very faint steps.*

"2. But the white and negro races of Africa readily intermix. The woolly haired form has there no pretensions on the debatable land between them. The Caucasian might have assumed mastery beyond it, had not the force of nature interposed; for this race does not and cannot multiply in the centre of negro existence: and in the warmer vallies of the intermediate spaces, such as that of the Nile, only a mixed Semitic stock possesses durability. It has been calculated, that since the introduction of the Mameluke power, not less than five millions of well chosen colonists, of both sexes, from high central Asia, have been introduced, not to wear out a life of slavery, but one of power and rule, yet no fourth generation of this stock can anywhere be shown in Egypt, even with all the additional aid of Syrian and Persian females, to supply the deficiency. The force of a true Negro expansion is felt coming from the centre of Africa. It presses upon the Caffres, Abyssinees, and the west coast of Nigritia. Morocco is already ruled by black sovereigns; and the antique semi-Caucasian tribes of the north part have greatly diminished. 124.

"3 All, however, appear to have taken but slight notice of numerous races of the several forms of Man, which have been entirely extinguished, and

"* This aversion to interunion with the bearded races is a result of experience, proving the superior activity of those who have sprung from such races, and become conquerors. Genghiz, Timur, and Nadir Shah, were directly, or in their ancestry, descended from Caucasian mothers, and hence also the jealous exclusion of European women from China."

to have assumed, for incontrovertible, that the structural differences observable in nations are solely the result of changes of climate, food, and other conditions of existence, which a careful attention to history does not confirm, and which if they operated at all, must be a result of the long continued action of the same causes upon the portion of mankind placed within the sphere of their operation; such as arid or moist tropical heat; arctic cold; open mountain ridges, or low swampy forests; yet, there is so little certainty, that such causes do or would effect the modifications ascribed to them, that it is not even proved they influence the brute creation to any extent, except in clothing; in every region which is sufficiently genial to sustain the persisting duration of one of them, they feel this effect but slightly; and as there are only three who attain this typical standard, we have in them the foundation of that number being *exclusively* aboriginal. p. 123.

“4. Indeed, their intermediate races, and still more and more, as they pass into the purer type of the Papua or Negro, have suffered, and continue to suffer, the unmitigated oppression of Caucasian superiority. In hot regions, where a powerful vegetation supplies the means, some of the most brutal tribes such as the Veoas of Ceylon, Cookies, and Goands of Chittagong, east of the Bramaputre reside in trees, with little more contrivance, or the use of reason, than is evinced by Champanzees, the great apes of Africa. The Pouliahs of Malabar are no better, for they also form a kind of nest, in trees, beyond the reach of elephants and tigers, never as-

sociating with other nations and not even permitted by the Hindoos to approach within one hundred yards."—141.

"5. Another outcast race, in Central Africa, are the Cumbre Blacks, whose origin is still less known. Though they are considered to be genuine Negroes, they are not permitted to have a national existence, but are treated as slaves by all the other tribes in Yaouri and Cugarski. This fact is sufficient to prove them of a distinct origin, and their present character to be superinduced by the lust and lawlessness of conquest and oppression."—153.

"6. Weight is another element in the consideration of races, as this quality materially influences physical strength, and consequently bestows confidence, enterprise, and success. An instrument, the dynamometor, has been invented to measure the relative scale, and they have shown savage nations to be strong in proportion to the abundance and wholesomeness of the food they possess; but in all cases hitherto examined, civilized Europeans surpassed them;* and, it appears, English exceeded French; or perhaps more correctly, the Teutonic stock surpassed the Celtic, both in strength and in weight, although the Irish Celts are said to be taller and heavier than the English Saxons." 163.

"7. Therefore, in reasoning upon them, we must be guarded against certain prepossessions of self-

* The strongest North American Indians are asserted to fail against the ordinary power of wrist of Europeans; that is, when each side place the right elbow to elbow, and cross the fingers through each other's hands, striving to bend the opposing wrist back. The fact was established by the 90th. Regiment in Canada.—p. 163.

esteem, which the educated man of the bearded stock, and indeed mankind in general, is apt to entertain of strangers." 167.

"8. It would be revolting to believe that the less gifted tribes were predestined to perish beneath the conquering and all-absorbing covetousness of European civilization without an enormous load of responsibility resting on the perpetrators. Yet this fate appears to be sealed in many quarters, and seems by a preordained law to be an effect of more mysterious import than human reason can grasp.

"As therefore we cannot attain in our state of knowledge, satisfactory conclusions upon this head, it becomes the duty of all to assert the rights of humanity in their indisputable plenitude *although to us in particular as mere naturalists* it is a bounden duty to confine ourselves to known and scientific facts."—168.

"9. If we turn to India, although the woolly haired stock may have retained, from priority of diffusion, a typical nucleus within the tropics, expanding even westward, there is a master race, of a distinct origin, domineering over the oldest discoverable tribes, gradually more and more intermixed, till, from pure white, it becomes positive black, without therefore being deprived of a superior aspect, which the Caucasian blood alone confers. It extends with a few exceptions, down to very near the equatorial line, where indeed, contamination is still observable; but the mastery of a foreign race evidently disappears. These conditions recur, in a south-western direction, along the Persian and Ara-

bian maritime provinces, and eastern Africa; the Caucasian, whether brownish or black, preponderating numerically towards the shores of the Mediterranean, exactly in the ratio structural conformation would prefer, if left at liberty. This intermediate sub-typical race, in all its shades of color, is the Ethiopian of antiquity and seems to have included those tribes which were held accursed by several of the most ancient white immigrants in Western Asia." 184.

"10. Thus, we have the southern line representing the Himalaya chains with its great streams ending at the Indian Ocean; the eastern similarly leading to the Pacific; and the western to a sea gradually contracted into the Caspian; and the intermediate, conducted by geographical necessities, reaching the South Seas, the Northern Pacific, and from thence to America, the Polar and Western Regions, and the Erythrean Seas to Northern Africa. Of these, however, the Caucasian alone bears evidence of commencing development upon the table land, and under the shadows of the western chains; the Mongolic being at first no nearer than the eastern extremity of the Gobi and woolly haired type coming up to, and along the skirts of the southern chain, rather than commencing primæval diffusion so far to the north of its general centre of existence.

"The review of typical and sub-typical forms of Man, intended to be submitted here appears to be best arranged, by taking in succession—the woolly haired, the Malay and mixed races of the south

Seas—the American abnormal nations—the Mongolic or beardless—and the Ouralian and Yoorkie. From these we arrive at the true Caucasian, whose early history being best known from the south-east side of the central region, will require, that first the mixed semi-woolly haired tribes of South and Western Asia be examined, in order that the great influence and expansion of the bearded stock may be established : and records of its principle races will form the remaining subject of consideration.” 187.

“11. The woolly haired, tropical dark colored stock, improperly called Atlantic and Ethiopic, is considered to be most distinctly typical, where the maximum of development is found in the peculiarities of structure and faculties that distinguish it from other normal forms. It is that which predominates in Central and Western tropical Africa—a form of Man of good stature, though seldom attaining six feet in height, and falling as rarely beneath five feet six ; the facial angle varying from 65 to 70 degrees ; the head being small, laterally compressed ; the dome of the skull arched and dense ; the forehead narrow, depressed, and the posterior part more developed ; the nose broad and crushed, with the nostrils round ; the lower jaw protruding, angular, but more vertical in nonage ; the mouth wide, with very thick lips, black to the commissure, which is red ; the teeth large, solid, and the incisors placed rather obliquely forward. The ears which are roundish, rather small, standing somewhat high and detached, are said like the scalp, to be occasi-

onally moveable; the eyes always diffused with a bilious tint and the irides very dark. The hair, in infants, rises from the skin in small mamillary tufts, disposed in irregular quincunx, and is in all parts, of a crisp woolly texture, excepting the eyebrows and eyelashes. In men it is scanty on the upper lip, generally confined to the point of the chin, without any at the sides of the face, excepting in late manhood. On the head, it forms a close hard frizzle of wool; in the pure races never hanging loose, nor rising into a kind of mop; and the breast sometimes has a few tufts; but the arms and legs are without any. The throat and neck is muscular; and, with the chest, shoulders, abdomen, hips, back, upper arms, and thighs, very symmetrically moulded; but, compared with the Caucasian, the humerus is a trifle shorter, and the forearm longer, thereby approximating the form of Simiadæ. The wrists and ancles are robust; the hands coarse, with phalanges rather short, particularly the thumb; and the palms are yellowish. The legs have the shin bones slightly bent forward, and the calves placed high up; the feet broad, heavy, squarish, with the soles flat; the os calcis less prominent; the toes short, more equal in length; and all the nails strong, short, and broad. The skin is soft, silky to the touch; in the new born infant, dull cherry red, gradually darkening to the permanent depth of shade; beneath the epidermis, the mucuous membrane, loaded with a coloring matter in the bile, causes the melanic appearance of the skin, which varies, however, from deep sallow to intense sepia black; dark-

est in health; and that color always distinctly affects the external glands. It is likewise the source of an overpowering offensive odor, spreading through the atmosphere, when many are congregated in the hot sun. The silky texture of the epidermis is more liable to erosion from pressure than that of white men. It is a character as organic, or more so, that the arched dome of the skull, and the perpendicularity of the vertebral column, which are quoted as the sole cause, why burthens are best borne by Negroes on the head instead of the back; for their general structure is athletic, the gait erect, free, and in young persons not ungraceful." 190-191.

"12. It appears that some tribes in Dongola and Sennaar have one lumbar vertebra more than the Caucasian and the stomach corrugated.* In general, the female pelvis is wider, the aperture round, and both the sexes have the hips remarkably well proportioned. The bones of the typical nations are heavy, well knit, or with the apophyses fitted to receive broad insertion of the muscles, and the dome of the skull is particularly solid but the ribs tender and flexible. Hence Negroes of all human beings are distinguished for fighting by occasionally butting with their heads foremost like rams at each other, the collision of their skulls giving a report that may be heard at some distance. Even women in their brawls have the same habit. The dense spherical structure of the head likewise ena-

* "Observations sur les bttaillons Negres du Cordofan au service de Mehemit Ali en Egypte et qui servirent en Candie." By a German Surgeon. The same remarks are likewise offered, we believe by Dr. Madden, Travels &c.

bles several tribes to shave their crowns and in this exposed state to remain with the lower half of the body immersed in water under a tropical sun. This very structure may influence the erect gait which occasions the practice common also to the Ethiopian or mixed nations of carrying burthens and light weights even to a tumbler full of water upon the head. 189—192.

“ 13. The voice of Negroes is feeble and hoarse in the male sex, exceedingly high and shrill in females. The sense of sight is acute, that of taste sufficiently delicate, hearing sharp, with notions of time, but very little of melody. Yet fond of music, and constantly handling instruments of the most imperfect kind they have not mechanical genius to construct any instruments of music, excepting a species of harmoneon, made of slips of bamboo or of a set of sounding stones; if it be that they are of their own invention. They have drums, and a kind of castanet, but stringed instruments are derived from a Moorish source. Though the physical qualities are well developed, the intellectual are low; yet the moral impulses are not unfrequently of a most noble nature. They offer therefore a discordant mixture of qualities, wherein the good predominates till the European, not misguided by personal interests or prejudices cannot refrain from feelings of affection for them. They all believe in some kind of a future state, though religious sensations are with them superstitutions, and childish mummeries, too often connected with *fetiché* necromancy, which deals in the crimes of poisoning and murder. Thought is

habitually dormant, and when roused it is manifested by loud soliloquy and gesticulations regardless of circumstances. War is a passion that excites in them a brutal disregard of human feelings; it entails the deliberate murder of prisoners, and victims are slain to serve the manes of departed chiefs. Even cannibalism is frequent among the tribes of the interior. Notwithstanding the listless torpidity caused by excessive heat, the perceptive faculties of the children are far from contemptible; they have a quick apprehension of the ridiculous, often surpassing the intelligence of the white, and only drop behind them about the twelfth year, when the reflective powers begin to have the ascendancy.

“Collectively, the untutored Negro mind is confiding and single-hearted, naturally kind and hospitable. *Both sexes are easily ruled*, and appreciate what is good under the guidance of common justice and prudence. Yet where so much that honors human nature remains—in apathy the typical woolly-haired races have never invented a reasoned theological system, discovered an alphabet, framed a grammatical language, nor made the least step in science or art. They have never comprehended what they have learned, or retained a civilization taught them by contact with more refined nations as soon as that contact had ceased. They have at no time formed great political states, nor commenced a self-evolving civilization. Conquest with them has been confined to kindred tribes, and produced only slaughter. Even christianity of more than three centuries duration in Congo has scarcely excited a progressive civilization.

"Thus even the good qualities given to the Negro by the bounty of nature, have seemed only to make him a slave trodden down by every remorseless foot, and to brand him for ages with the epithet of outcast. The marked, unceasing proof of a curse as old as the origin of society, not even deserving human forbearance, and true it is that the worst slavery is his lot even at home, for he is there exposed to the constant peril of becoming also a victim, slaughtered with the most revolting torments. Tyrant of his blood he traffics in slavery as it were merchandise, makes war purposely to capture neighbors, and sells even his own wives and children. 190—197.

"14. A second stem of the typical group is the eastern tropical or Samang, which we shall continue to denominate Papua.

"The Papuan stock, notwithstanding mental and physical deficiencies, has advanced to the pastoral and even agricultural conditions when not molested by invaders, and favored by foreign emigration, for in a pure unmixed state, no eastern negro tribe has passed beyond the profession of hunter. The *inapprehensive* character of their constitutions, or an impulse which leads them to the sea, induces both African and Papuan stems readily to accept a marine mode of life. They are generally excellent swimmers, they dive fearlessly, and will fight the shark in his own element; yet they have never invented the construction of large canoes, such as the Malay and American make with so much skill.

"In what manner the black Caribs of St. Vin-

cent first reached the western hemisphere is narrated upon questionable evidence. Those said to be the remains of this adventitious race are still excellent boatmen, and if Peter Martyr (Decad) may be credited, there was a Negro population already established on the coast of America before the arrival of the Spaniards.*

“ On the west coast of Africa the most energetic tribes are Coromantees ; very black, and marked on the cheek with tribal scars. They are a daring and martial people, when enslaved often rebellious. The Eboes, on the contrary, are less vigorous, paler in color, with a more slender form and elongated features. They are a gentle race, yet more truly savages ; and though addicted to despondency and suicide, they were formerly sought for house servants. The Widohs or Fidohs are of the stem usually called Papwas and Nagas in Africa. They resemble the Papuras of the Indian Ocean more than any other race, and they assimilate likewise with the Eboes, but are still more submissive as slaves. They have a baboon like expression, and the peculiarities of the Negro type strongly marked. Of the African stock the most conspicuous is the Kafir or Caffree, a race which having a semitic innervation has arisen in stature, intelligence, and beauty. They have formed states of some extent. They build large towns, possess the art of smelting

* * Peter Martyr, who wrote from the manuscript documents of the first discoverers, then still living, cites Vasco NUNES, meeting with a colony of Negroes at Quanqui, in the Gulf of Darien. This, it should be remarked, is anterior to the introduction of black slaves.

and working metals, are very considerable graziers, and have some agriculture.

“As the woolly-haired type in the oriental portion of its distribution is often of the smallest and ill made proportions, there are instances (perhaps, indeed, of races some already somewhat mixed) where they rise to six feet high, and possess powerful frames, as was lately discovered in the interior of Australia. But in all, where any religious sentiment has been observed, they seem to be infected, or sink into the lowest puerilities. This is also the case in Africa, where the divinities are spectres, or are lizards, insects, birds or beasts, gods in one season, and game in another; or they are wretched little idols they call Fetiche, a word derived from *pet*, *παταχος*, of Phœnician or Egyptian origin; and, as it evidently means, further shows that in the first acceptation was implied veneration for departed tribal or family ancestors, but became degraded to a kind of idolatrous worship, which, in the hands of Negroes is bestowed alike upon monkey skulls, bits of bone, rag, or is a gross scarecrow set up under a canopy of straw. The Negro has always shown a great propensity to incantation, and sorcery has recourse to protective amulets, which he calls *Gris-gris*. 197—200.

“15. Before concluding, we may mention the gradations through which intermixture of the typical stocks are distinguished in the West India islands. The offspring of a black and a white parent is denominated a Mulatto; a black and a Mulatto produces a Sambo; a black and Sambo a Mungroo;

and a black and a Mungroo is again completely black. But in this case the distinction in the intellectual qualities is not again obliterated, *it remains to a considerable degree* of a more developed character than in a true Negro of unmixed origin. A Mulatto and a white generate a Quartoon, a Quartoon and a white a Mestic, and a Mestic and a white a complete white. Yet this class of persons still in general have black and curly hair, the nails on the fingers remain darker and ill shaped. The feet are indifferently formed, and in their propensities much of the Negro origin continues to be traced. The Spaniards carry their distinctions to a seventh generation.*

“16. The decay amounting to prospective extinction among the American races, is moreover a further proof that they are not a typical people, but that they are stems occupying a debateable ground which we have before shown are alone liable to annihilation, or to entire absorption. 259.

“* Our personal observations on the Negro races it is proper to mention, commenced in 1797, on the coast of Africa. They were continued on both portions of the American continent and in the West Indies to 1807, during which period the slave trade remained in activity, and new Negroes as they were termed, coming from different nations could be examined, and their characteristics compared at most of the tropical sea ports. The distinctive characters then possessed by them are now confined or obliterated by commixture of the different races, by education and other changes of circumstances in the western hemisphere, and are no longer accessible on the coast of Africa. Hence several remarks above made cannot now be entirely verified in any quarter. From what is here stated, it follows that the observations more or less carefully made extended over hundreds belonging to very different tribes of western and central Africa, exclusive of North and South American and West Indian colonial born Negroes.

"17. At that period, (375,) most of the nomad tribes of Asia were in his (ATTILAS) service, hence the nation might have been called ferocious and ill-favored ; but here also the Caucasian element had already so greatly influenced the external form of the Ipans or higher chiefs, that there were not inferior to any other privileged races of Europe. 321.

"18. Thus the Atrak Turks, more especially the Osmanlis differ from the other Toorkees by their lofty stature, European features, abundant beards, and fair complexions, derived from their original extraction, being Caucasian of Yuchi race, as from an early intermixture with it and with the numerous captives they were incorporating for ages from Kashmere, Affghanistan, Persia, Syria, Natalia, Armenia, Greece, and Eastern Europe. Both these conjectures may be true, because the Caucasian stock wherever we find it continues to rise into power, from whatever source it may be drawn. 326.

"19. There cannot be, however, a doubt that in the Mulatto state or half breed Caucasian that peculiar structure of the skin must be in part remaining, since in the character of the hair we find it in proportion of the bearded parentage, the frizzled and mop like passes into spiral curls, then undulates, and at last is wholly straight ; while descending the scale the mop becomes crisp and returns to that low state of humanity which, in the warm regions of the east was branded with the reproach of being accursed. 333.

"20. The styles of sculpture, architecture, and excavation of Egypt, notwithstanding the remote

period of their origin, have more affinity to the Bactrian Hindoo than to any other colossal ponderous detail, such as a compound of what remains at Nineveh, and the earliest cavern temples would produce shining traces of the natural development of art when working upon the same kind of materials with similar means.

“The statues retain the normal pillar in all but the parts of architectural combination advanced beyond mere excavation, as it still was in the most ancient cavern temples of India; not so complete and less appropriate than the Egyptian, indicating an older date though it was wielded in both regions by sacerdotal supremacies over great populations. The system of worship in Egypt was likewise allied to the Indian. British sepoy forming part of the expedition that was to co-operate with General Sir Ralph Abercrombie in the re-conquest of Egypt, no sooner entered the sacred temples in the valley of the Nile, than they asserted their own divinities were discovered on the walls, and worshipped them accordingly. They even pointed out the Cresvaminam or Brahmin distinguishing cord, as likewise a decoration of the painted divinities. 359—360.

“21. The bearded intermediate or Caucasian type is so named because neither of the other two typical forms is distinguished by a well grown beard. Intermediate form is applicable with reference to the boreal and tropical position of other types. The appellation of Caucasian remains likewise appropriate when understood to apply to the Indians or true Caucasians, or Imaus of the ancients,

for by these names the region of Hindoo, Koosh, and the vicinity must be understood, and it is to that locality careful examination ultimately traces the first habitation of at least the white races of the bearded stock, for the term *white*, though it is in general sufficiently correct, is still not quite admissible for the whole, since the color varies from pure white down to mealanism nearly as deep as a genuine Negro. Albinos are frequent, and both the phenomenon of an entire horny skin and of total hirsuteness seem to belong exclusively to the bearded type.

“It being to the form under consideration that the tribe class that have peopled Europe and western Asia almost exclusively belongs, therefore its typical characters are easily ascertained. The beard is neither villous nor woolly, but spreading over the lips, chin, and the whole of the nether jaw, it fringes the sides of the face up to the temples, and is crisp, curly, or undulating, but never quite straight or lank as in the Mongolian. The skull is larger than in the other forms, it is oblong, rounded, with the cerebral portion more developed, containing from seventy-five to one hundred and nine cubic inches; the facial angle is more vertical, rising from seventy-five to ninety degrees. The face is oval, the eyes large, open horizontal, the pupils passing from hazel to brown on one hand, to dark nearly black, and on the other to deep blue, grey, light blue, and even greenish, (pink colored pupils occur rarely, and only in extreme cases of albinos.) The hair is abundant on the head, curly, waving, or lank, varying

in shades of colors from very dark brown to auburn xanthous and fiery red, usually corresponding but not always, to the beard and eyebrows, and sometimes from infancy marked with grey, which, in advancing life in both sexes is sure to come on till the whole is turned white. In general, the hair harmonises with the complexion, which varies in the white races from ruddy to fair. Health has its influences upon the color of the skin in all races, but in the fair the cheeks are frequently colored. The typical races have the mouth small, the teeth set vertically, the lips not turned, and more delicately graceful in outline, the nose is more prominent, and the wings less spread than in the other forms of man, nor is the nether form so angular. The forehead is broad, often high, the occipital part less developed, and the arch of the cranium less solid. Man of the bearded type attains the highest standard, is in general above the middle size, and in symmetry excels all others. The arms are in better proportion, the hands more beautifully shaped, and the feet and toes more delicate, and more obliquely arranged. His movements are more decisive of purpose, more graceful, the poise of his head places the countenance vertically to the horizon.*

* A weight being placed on the head, such as when a Dutch milkmaid skates to market, the heavy pail is so poised upon a kind of pad, that it bears equally upon the dome of the cranium, so also is water carried by the abnormal Egyptian peasantry. In both, the weight rests on the perpendicular axis of the body, through the centre of the skull, whereas in the Negro weight on the head is always poised near the forehead, and consequently the chin is elevated. With the Mongolian and American the strain appears to be downward, the muscles of the neck being rigid. Weight is carried not on the shoulders like a Caucasian, nor on the head

"The shoulders are ample, the chest broad, the ribs firm, and the loins well turned; the thighs, and in particular the calves of the legs symmetrical, the whole frame constructed for the endurance of every kind of toil, being protected in some measure with a partial growth of hair, which is scarcely traceable in the other types excepting on the chest. Thus he is constructed with physical powers equal to his intellectual organization, fitted to sustain protracted thought. Continuous attention alike excited by an activity of disposition stimulating his brain, which is larger and more fully developed in the anterior portion than in any other form of man. In the mere animal senses of feeling, hearing, smell, sight, and tasting, the social position of civilized nations may render them in part less quick, because they are less called into activity; but the Kaufir mountaineer of Hindoo Koosh, and the Arab wanderer are we doubt equal if not superior to the acutest perceptions of Negro, American, or any other wild race in the world. Again, the Caucasian form of man combines above the rest, strength of limb with activity of motion, enabling it to endure the greatest vicissitudes of temperature in all climates, to emigrate, colonise, and multiply in them, with the sole exception of the positive extremes. His longevity is more generally protracted, even in the midst of the enervating habits of high civilization his solid fibre gives a reasoned self possession and daring in vicissitudes arising

like the woolly-haired races, but by a strap pressing against the forehead, and passing to the back. The true Caucasian trusts to the shoulders and loins.

from the passions, from accident, or from the elements, and his reflective power finds expedients to brave dangers with self possession and impunity.

“The moral and intellectual character we find to be in unison with his structure, the reasoning powers outstripping the mere process of comparing sensations, and showing in volition more elevated thought, more reasoning, justice, and humanity; he alone of the races has produced examples of free and popular institutions, and his physical characteristics have maintained them in social life. By means of his logical intellect he has arrived at ideas requisite for the acquisition of abstract truths, resorting to actual experiment he fixed bases whereon to build demonstrable inferences when the positive facts are not otherwise shown.

“He invented simple arbitrary characters to represent words and musical sounds, and a few signs which, nevertheless denote in their relative positions all the possible combinations of numbers and quantity. He has measured time and distance, making the sidereal bodies unerring guides to mark locality and give nautical direction. He has ascended to the skies, descended into the deep, and mastered the powers of the deep. By mechanical researches the bearded man has assuaged human toil, multiplied the results of industry, and created a velocity of locomotion superior to the flight of birds. By his chemical discoveries he has modified bodily pain, and produced numberless discoveries useful in medicine, in arts, and manufactures. He has formed a sound and connected system of the sciences in gen-

eral, and acquired a critical literature, while for more than three thousand years he has been the principal possessor of all human knowledge, and the asserter of fixed laws. He has instituted all the great religious systems in the world, and to his stock has been vouchsafed the glory and the conditions of revelation.

"The Caucasian type alone continues in rapid development, covering with nations every congenial latitude, and portending at no distant era to bear rule in every region, if not by physical superiority at least by that dominion which religion, science, and enterprise causes, constituting, as we have shown, the most important, the most elevated, and highly organized type of man. 368—373.

"22. Of the three varieties of color and temperament most distinctly marked in the Caucasian type, the first is characterized by brown complexion, and dark eyes and hair, very symmetrical proportions, a round domed skull, and an intelligence most vividly imaginative. The temperament sensual, the vindictive passions active, the perceptive faculties quick, and the physical energies demanding mental excitement more than reason for exertion. Such are the ardent nations of the south.

"Opposed to them in form and disposition are the tribes of the north; with a loftier stature, a fair, often a ruddy skin, xanthous hair, rather ponderous limbs, a squarer skull, and coarser features; they have little comparative vivacity, but are endowed with the faculty of thought and reason, less under the control of petulant desires; more reflective, and

therefore more continuously attached to conclusions once formed; slow, but patient in perseverance, and brave, without requiring the stimulus of enthusiasm. They are sincere and single-minded, but addicted to gluttony and drunkenness. Between these two we find the typical root still more essentially; mountaineer in habit, with clear complexions, light brown, auburn, light or dark hair. It has the skull formed like the southern stem, but broader in the forehead. By nature and locality possessed of the highest endowments of the other two, excepting, perhaps, the quality of reasoned patience; it is imaginative, poetical, inventive, artful, eloquent, valiant, and indefatigable. It has been the master stem from all antiquity; and in particular that ambitious race which is distinguished by high features, has ever been the conquering, the imperious form, that commands in battle and rules in peace wherever it is found mixed in the social life of nations. Although beauty, valor, and logical capacity may not by any means be denied the more vertical profiles, yet mathematical, linguistic, and experimental science belong more permanently to the less admired lines of features. It is by the exercise of these faculties, tempered with forbearance that the resolute tenacity of the last mentioned maintains its ground, and the public will obtain modifications of the arbitrary canons which the others have imposed. It is the Caucasian man who, in all regions and times, has been the sole depositor of religion. The Papua and Negro races of antiquity do not appear to have possessed creeds at

any period deserving to be classed with reasoned allegorical dogmas; they were merely absurd injunctions to commit revolting bloodshed. Even when palliated, remodelled, and systematized by the influence of Caucasian rulers, they continued more to degrade the masters than to elevate the vanquished. 380—381.

“23. *The Circassian and Georgian Tribes of the Caspian Caucasus.* While others coming more from the north, with, as it appears, a portion of Finnic blood in their veins, held possession of the plains on the Kouban and the Don, these extended westward in the Crimea, and along the shores of the Euxine, until they were in part swept onwards, and partly driven back to take shelter in the fastnesses they now hold. The Don Cossacks are of the same stem, for although all the tribes are in various proportions of mixed origin, the typical form is always evident. The women of Circassia are beautiful, probably the most beautiful in features and complexion of the whole earth. They have often light hair and blue eyes, tall, graceful, and erect forms, with straight or slightly aquiline noses, well-formed lips, and beautiful teeth; while the men justly pride themselves on their broad shoulders, slender waists, expressive features, stalwart height, and martial gait. Indeed, this inherent superiority of form is so dominant, that the unceasing practice which the Osmanli Turks have of purchasing female slaves of this race has caused them to have become, from the most ill-shaped and wretched looking of barbarian Mongoles, a people that can now dispute the palm

of beauty with the handsomest of Europe. For, and with these nations, commencing in central Asia, Kaufirs, Affghans, Georgians, Circassians, Cossacks, tribes of Asia Minor, Greece, Rome, and the Gothic people of the north, on to the west of Europe, there are very sympathetic feelings, an enduring interest, independent of religious motives, political considerations, or commercial purposes. In England, especially, we feel for them more than curiosity; travel among them, overlook or palliate their barbarism, nay, so strong and deep is the inclination, that among British captives made during the disastrous winter months in Cabul, most spoke highly of the urbanity they had experienced; several of the softer sex felt unwilling to be released, and some, it is said, actually escaped from those who were to restore them to their homes. Nothing but original consanguinity could reproduce such effects. To that cause alone we must ascribe the long duration of a Macedonian monarchy subsisting for so many generations among the most warlike people in existence, and in more modern times, that the fierce bigotry of Islamism has not obliterated that tendency; for beyond this line of consanguinity, the Tartar race now in possession of Thibet and Bokhara, or the Arab on the south, never excite similar affections, nor feel themselves yearning for approximation."

Let the reader refer to quotation first, and he will see that this eminent ethnologist testifies against

amalgamation, as a hybrid race is never permitted to exist by nature. He also clearly confirms the truth of a sound principle—that wherever greatness manifests itself it must always be associated with the white race, for even Timour Ghengis Khan, and Nhadir Shah had Caucasian mothers.

The second proves that where the Negro escapes from the domination of the white it is the unhealthiness of the climate which saves him, and not his own intellect or courage. The third explodes the idea that woolly-headedness is the effect of climate. The fourth and fifth show that the more thoroughly Negro the tribe is, the more degraded it is. The sixth establishes the physical superiority of the white. The seventh and eighth are well worthy of attention, as the gallant colonel has to acknowledge, despite of his humanity, that the Negro is immeasurably inferior to the Caucasian, in every thing that distinguishes and elevates man. The ninth and tenth do the same thing. The eleventh and twelfth ought to be most carefully perused. The thirteenth gives the true character of the Negro. The fourteenth and fifteenth trace the Negro to the typical form. The sixteenth takes the ground that the North American Indian is a cross, and that according to the inevitable laws of nature he cannot exist, he must either be absorbed into one of the typical races or become extirpated. The seventeenth and eighteenth again prove that greatness can only emanate from Caucasian blood. The nineteenth shows that intermixture degrades

the white. The twentieth demonstrates to a certainty that the Hindoos, and the ancient Egyptians, the builders of the tombs, temples, palaces, and pyramids, were closely related, and destroys the absurd notion that Negroes ever could have risen from barbarism. The twentieth, twenty-second, &c., completely settle the entire and perfect superiority of the white over the Negro.

CHAPTER VI.

QUOTATIONS FROM MURRAY'S ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF GEOGRAPHY.

"1. Egypt and Carthage, when in their glory, ranked among the most civilized and opulent states then existing. Even after the first ravages of the Saracens, learning and science distinguished the splendid courts established in the west of Barbary. The continued influence, however, of a gloomy superstition, and the separation caused by it from all the refined modern nations, have induced among these states a general relapse into barbarism. The population of the continent may now, in a large view be divided into Moors and Negroes. The Moors, including the descendants of the original Arab invaders, and those whom conquest and religion have assimilated with them, fill all northern Africa, and the Great Desert. They reach the banks of the Senegal and the Niger, which may be considered as the boundary of the two races, though they mingle and alternate on the opposite sides, where sometimes one, sometimes the other, holds chief sway. The Moors are a rough, roving race, keeping numerous herds, chiefly of camels, with which they perform immense journeys through the most desolate tracts, and across the greatest breadth of the continent. Africa is indebted to them for all the literature she possesses; at least, few of the Negroes can read or write who have not learned from them. The Moors, however, at least all that scour the desert, are a race peculiarly unamiable.

A furious bigotry, joined to the most embittered hatred of the Christian name, renders them mortal foes to every European traveller who falls in their power. The Negroes, on the contrary, though inferior in arts and attainments, are generally courteous, gay, and hospitable. Like all barbarous nations, they are fond of war, and cruel to their enemies; but their domestic intercourse is friendly, and they receive with kindness the unprotected stranger. They are led away with fantastic superstitions, charms, witchcraft, ordeals, &c., but these errors never impel them to hate or persecute those who entertain the most opposite belief. Their external aspect is well known, being marked by a deep black color, flat nose, thick lips, and coarse hair, like wool. The Moors are deeply embrowned by the influence of the sun, but have not the least of the Negro color or aspect. 534.

"2. Hieroglyphics, painted sculptures, colossal statues, and all the ornaments which characterize Egyptian temples are profusely employed. Battles, storming of castles, triumphs, particularly over the Ethiopians, (Negroes,) with captive groups of that race, are the subjects chiefly represented. The exterior of the temple is one hundred and seventeen feet wide, and eighty-six feet high; but the most remarkable feature consists of four colossi, which, with the exception of the Sphynx, are the largest sculptured figures in Egypt or Nubia. BURCKHARDT, who saw only the shoulder of one of them above the sand, conjectured, from its dimensions, that the whole would be sixty-five or seventy feet.

BELZONI, after removing the sand found it fifty-one feet, not including the cap, which was fourteen feet. Of these colossi, one is still buried, and another thrown down. 577.

“3. In this region, human nature cannot be said to appear under a dignified form. Even the external aspect of the Negro is, in our eyes especially, mean, coarse, and ugly. The deep black of his complexion has been supposed by some to be connected with the barbarism of his habits. But the thick lips, flat nose, woolly hair, and the line of the face sloping backwards, are at variance with every idea of beauty, and suggest very little of the exercise of intellectual energy. Vol. 3, pp. 37—38.

“4. It is impossible to name a region tolerably peopled, where any progress at all has been made in the arts, which is so completely illiterate as Negro Africa. It is not enough to say that it has neither books, authors, or learned men. In no part of this extended region is there an alphabet, a hieroglyphic, or even a picture, or symbol of any description. All those refined processes, by which the ideas of one mind are made to pass into those of another, are entirely unknown. The universal amusement of the Negro, above those of mere sensation, are dancing and music. The former is invariably performed in the open air. As soon as the sun declines, and its intense heat abates, there is dancing from one end of Africa to the other. Twenty-five hundred years ago, HANNO and his companions were surprised, immediately after sunset, to see lights glittering along the shore, and to

hear on every side the sound of musical instruments. The passion, however, with which this amusement is pursued, has not led to any refinement in the art. Their performance consists chiefly of violent and grotesque movements; leaping, stamping on the ground, bowing their heads, and snapping their fingers. In their music, also, noise appears the chief if not the sole object. Their drums and their trumpets, or horns, produce a horrid dissonance, against which, according to some travellers, a whole bale of cotton would be required to stop the ears. Polygamy, throughout all tropical Africa, has no limit but that of the ability to maintain a considerable number of wives. By the great it is practised to the utmost extent that their circumstances can admit. To have numerous wives and children is considered a matter of state, and is always made their first boast. It forms even a source of wealth; for, except the principal wife, who is mistress of the household, and the sacred wife, who is consecrated to the *fetiché*, all are made to work hard, both in tilling the fields, and in manufacturing mats and cloths. Even the principal wife often urges her husband to take fresh mates, as a means of increasing the importance of the establishment over which she presides; it is also customary to make her a handsome present on the occasion. In the towns on the coast, the more wealthy take usually from three to twenty wives, while the kings raise the number to eighty or a hundred; but in Ashantee, Dahomey, and other despotic interior kingdoms, the privilege knows no bounds, and the number is often

carried to several thousands. It is swelled, not only by the captives taken in war, but by the selection which the king has a right to make of the fairest and most accomplished females within the circuit of his own dominions. A great part of the nation are thus reduced to celibacy, and very dissolute habits prevail. In many of the towns on the Gold Coast a body of courtesans are maintained by the state, and are considered as public servants. Not a few even of the wealthy are willing to derive a profit from the irregular conduct of their secondary wives. Notwithstanding the overgrown families of some of the great, such habits cannot fail to keep down the amount of population, and, by causing a neglect of education, to lower the intellectual standard of the people. In architecture, and even in masonry, the Negro nations rank very low. There is not, perhaps, in all native Africa, a house built of stone. Wood, earth, leaves, and grass, are the only materials. One traveller compares their villages to groups of dog kennels rather than of houses. The trunks of four large trees are driven into the ground, and connected by poles; this frame-work is then covered with earth or clay. The roof is formed by a number of branches meeting at the top, and covered with leaves or grass. The doors not being above two or three feet high, the enterer creeps rather than walks in, and he cannot stand upright, unless in the part of the roof which is left hollow like a pent-house. The floor being raised about three feet from the ground, to avoid the damp, and the apartment being open for the admission of air,

resembles a good deal a mountebank's stage in Europe. The houses of the rich are scarcely better, though more in number, for each wife has a house, and the whole establishment is surrounded by a wall of earth or twigs. Princes assign similar houses to their principal officers, and the group is enclosed with a general high wall, so as to make a sort of little town. It may be observed, however, that the houses of the great kings in the interior, though of the same materials, are of somewhat a superior description. The regal dwellings display brilliant colors on the outside walls, while the apartments are sometimes so spacious as to resemble a good English barn. In the cities, where the people have a share in the government, there is a hall of assembly, having merely a roof supported by poles. The furniture of the house bespeaks as much poverty as the house itself. A few seats, cups, and pots, all of wood or earth, coverlets of rushes, and perhaps a mat to sleep upon, form the entire amount of their accommodations. The rich distinguish themselves by fine, and occasionally by a brass kettle. In point of clothing and ornament, the Negroes are not quite content with the same simplicity. The lower classes, indeed, think it enough if they can cover the lower part of their bodies with a paan, or loose wrapper of the coarse cloth of the country. Until the age of twelve or thirteen, indeed, no attire of any description is considered requisite. The rich, however, must appear in costly robes of silk, velvet, India chintz, or other imported materials. The females of rank wear long

veils and mantles, which they throw over the shoulder; red is their favorite color, and they ornament their dress with gold and silver lace, and also with ribands. But the great rage is for bracelets and rings, which last are accumulated on the ears, arms, and small part of the leg. The rich wear them of gold, or at least of brass or ivory, but the poorer classes are fain to content themselves with copper, tin, or in default of better materials, even with iron. They have been seen with no less than forty small iron rings on their arms. The arrangement of the hair, or rather wool, is a matter of profound study to both sexes. They rub it with palm oil, curl and dress it in various forms, and largely entwine it with gold, and with a species of coral valued at its weight in gold. Some of the Negro belles paint their face with red and white spots, till it looks like a piece of flowered damask. A certain degree of tattooing, or marking their skins with figures of flowers or other natural objects, is also practised. In regard to diet, if the Negroes observe a degree of simplicity, it is chiefly the result of necessity. Butchers' meat, poultry, and rice, are only within the reach of the opulent. The poor must content themselves with fish and millet, which, when boiled together into a thick mess, and palm oil poured over them, form the staple dish. They eat coarsely and voraciously, thrusting their hands together into the common dish. When good fare is placed before them, they are careful to indemnify themselves for former privations. On such occasions they have been known to manifest a sort of

canine appetite, eating as much as six Europeans. The drink of the country is palm wine, with which chiefly they enliven the social circle ; but intercourse with Europeans has taught them the more pernicious use of brandy. Vol. iii. 38—40.

“5. The Foulahs have been supposed to come from Fooladoo, on the Upper Senegal, but others suppose them of the same race with the Felletahs in Central Africa, in which case they must be traced to a foreign origin. They have now spread over all the banks of that river, besides the great kingdom of Foota Jalloo to the south, and many districts on the banks of the Gambia. They have not the extreme Negro characteristics, neither the deep jet hue, the flat nose, nor the thick lips ; on the contrary, their features are high, with an olive tint, and an agreeable expression. Vol. iii. p. 40.

“6. The king is absolute, with the exception of a military council of four principal officers, whom he is obliged to consult on questions of peace and war, and who usually give their voice in favor of the latter. There are, however, some features in this monarchy, which surpass in barbarism those of almost any other. The fury with which war is conducted is, indeed, too general among barbarians, but Ashantee (Negroes) is horribly distinguished by the vast amount of human sacrifice. There are two annual customs, as they are called, in which the king and chief men seek to propitiate the manes of their ancestors by a crowd of victims. Foreign slaves and criminals are selected in preference, but as each seeks to multiply the number, unprotected

persons cannot walk the streets without the hazard of being seized and immolated. At the death of any of the royal family, victims must bleed in thousands; and the same is the case when the king seeks from the powers above favorable omens respecting any great projected undertaking. The abuse of polygamy also is carried to the highest pitch. The legal allowance of wives for the king is upwards of three thousand, selected from the fairest damsels in his dominions. These unfortunate creatures are in general no better than slaves, and, on any capricious disgust are treated with the greatest cruelty, and often put to death. Vol. iii. p. 47."

CHAPTER VII.

KNOL

1 "THE study of the races of men—the tracing, at least, some of those great events, distinguishing their national histories, to their physical and moral natures—has ever been with me a favorite pursuit. I early examined the work of BLUMENBACH, of which the laborious writings of Dr. PRICHARD were an extension—an imperfect work, leading to no results; teaching a physiology as old as Herodotus and Hippocrates. More than thirty years ago, observation taught me that the great question of race—the most important unquestionably to man—had been for the most part scrupulously, shall we say purposely avoided by the statesman, the historian, the theologian; by journalists of nearly all countries. Unpalatable doctrines, no doubt, to dynasties lording it over nations composed of different races. 11.

"2. Human history cannot be a mere chapter of accidents. The fate of nations cannot always be regulated by chance; its literature, science, art, wealth, religion, language, laws, and morals, cannot surely be the result of mere accidental circumstances. If any one insists with me that a Negro or Tasmanian accidentally born in England becomes thereby an Englishman, I yield the point; but should he further insist, that he, the said Negro or Tasmanian, may become also a Saxon or Scandinavian, I must contend against so ludicrous an error. And yet errors like this are committed daily by

well-educated and well-informed persons. With me, race, or hereditary descent, is every thing; it stamps the man. Setting aside all theories, I have endeavored to view mankind as they now exist, divided as they are, and seem always to have been, into distinct races. As the origin of these races is lost in the past, I trace them from the present towards the past; from the partially known to the totally unknown. Well meaning, timid persons dread the question of race: they wish it left where PRICHARD did, that is, where Hippocrates left it. But this cannot be: the human mind is free to think, if not on the Rhine or on the Thames, at least on the Ohio and Missouri. 12—13.

“3. With me the Anglo-Saxon in America is a Saxon, and not a *native*: the Celt will prove a Celt wherever he is born, wherever he is found. The possible conversion of one race into another I hold to be a statement contradicted by all history. 22.

“4. In presenting this first complete edition of my *Lectures on the Races of Men* to public criticism, I have weighed most anxiously the form of the publication, and the order or the method to be followed in arranging the lectures. It has indeed been my great difficulty. Materials for a systematic history of the races of men are wholly wanting; the great problem of human nature has scarcely been touched on in any previous history of race. The illustrious PRICHARD, with the best intentions in the world, has succeeded in misdirecting the English mind as to all the great questions of race. This misdirection has told, as we have seen, even on the scholar

and on the scientific man. As a consequence of its misdirection, on the mere mention of the word race, the popular mind flies off to Tasmania, the polar circle, or the land of the Hottentot. Englishmen cannot be made to believe, can scarcely be made to comprehend, that races of men, differing as widely from each other as races can possibly do, inhabit, not merely continental Europe, but portions of Great Britain and Ireland. And next to the difficulty of getting this great fact admitted to be one, has been an unwillingness to admit the full importance of race, militating as it does against the thousand-and-one prejudices of the so-called civilized state of man; opposed as it is to the Utopian views based on education, religion, government. 25.

"5. It is to universities, colleges, and schools that we owe the perpetuation of error; of neatly-formulated untruths. I was taught that the round head of the Turk depended on his wearing a turban: it was repeated, on the authority of BLUMENBACH, that the small hands of the Hottentots as compared with the Caffres was caused by a scarcity of food! And but lately I read, in one of those miserable, trashy, popular physiologies,* that the Dutch owe their dulness and phlegm to their living amongst marshes? And to this day, I verily believe, this is the physiology of the schools. The spindle form of the English legs, so slender, ill-made, disproportioned to the torso, I have repeatedly heard ascribed by Sir Charles Bell, to the early use of heavy shoes or clogs: the vigorous calf of the French woman's leg

* Combe.

ascribed to there being no side pavements in Paris: and in a country where, at any hour of the day, you may meet with numbers of persons of all ranks in whom the facial angle equals the best of the antique, the same excellent man not only persisted in overlooking the fact, but denied its possibility. 31.

“6. Look more narrowly into the races of men, and you will find them to be subject to diseases peculiar to each; that the very essence of their language is distinct; their civilization also, if they have any. Trace the matter further, and you will find that transcendental anatomy can alone explain these mysterious circumstances: how all embryos should resemble each other; how they should resemble the primitive forms of life when the world was yet young; how deviations in form or varieties, not intended to be permanent, should repeat primitive forms, as proved by fossil remains; or present human or bestial forms; or take unknown shapes, referring, no doubt, to the future: lastly, and that is the most difficult question, how specializations should ever appear at all, and be, for a time at least, permanent. Two questions remain, beyond, I fear, human inquiry:—1st. The origin of life on the globe; 2d. The secondary laws, for they must be so, and can be nothing else, which create out of primitive forms, the past, the present, and the future organic worlds, clothing them with beauteous scenery. Endless, but defined variety of forms, adorn the earth, the air, the waters; the scheme of creation, in fact, in so far as man’s feeble reason can judge; not the object of creation; not the object of

man's creation, which, though wonderful, is not more so than that of any other form ; not then the object of man's creation as an intellectual being ; this has been revealed to us by divine minds. But I must view this last question also as an anatomist and physiologist, confining my remarks to man merely as a material being ; the most perfect, no doubt, that exists. In woman's form I see the perfection of Nature's works : the absolutely perfect ; the beautiful, the highest manifestation of abstract life, clothed in a physical form, adapted to the corresponding minds of her race and species. 34—35.

"7. When the word race, as applied to man, is spoken of, the English mind wanders immediately to distant countries ; to Negroes and Hottentots, Red Indians and savages. He admits that there are people who differ a good deal from us, but not in Europe ; there, mankind are clearly of one family. It is the Caucasian race, says one ; it is the primitive race, says another. But the object of this work is to show that the European races, so called, differ from each other as widely as the Negro does from the Bushman ; the Caffree from the Hottentot ; the Red Indian of America from the Esquimaux ; the Esquimaux from the Basque. BLUMENBACH and PRICHARD have misled the public mind so much in this respect, that a century may elapse before it be disabused. I need not repeat here the antiquated division of mankind by BLUMENBACH, nor its modification by PRICHARD : it leads to no results. With the history of the Saxon or Scandinavian race, I shall commence the physiological history of man.

SAXON OR SCANDINAVIAN RACE.

“Of the origin of the Saxon race we know just as much as we do of the origin of man ; that is, nothing. History, such as it is, shows us that in remote times a race of men, differing from all others physically and mentally, dwelt in Scandinavia—say in Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Holstein—on the shores of the Baltic, in fact ; by the mouths of the Rhine, and on its northern and eastern bank. Cæsar met Ariovistus at the head of a German army on the Rhine. The Germans, as the Scandinavian and other transrhena races were then called, had crossed the river, making excursions into the territories of their Celtic neighbors, inhabiting Old Gaul. The dictator defeated them, compelling them to recross the Rhine into their own territories. But he did not follow them into their native woods : the Romans never had any real power beyond the Rhine. At no period did they conquer the Saxon or true German, that is, Scandinavian race.

“What had induced the ancient Scandinavians to cross the Rhine in Cæsar’s time ? What had led them long before into Italy, where they encountered Marius ? Ask the South African Saxon Boor what induces him to spread himself over a land, one twentieth part of which could easily maintain him in comfort and affluence. What urges him against Caffraria—against Natal ? It has been said, that the Scandinavian or Saxon tribes were pressed for space ; that more numerous barbarous tribes pushed them on. The over-populousness of their woods, and their retiring before another force do not well

agree; there is some contradiction here. But the Cape Boor of Saxon origin has no such excuse for spreading himself in a few years over a vast region, which he leaves uncultivated; neither has the Anglo-Saxon American. To me it seems referable simply to the qualities of the race; to their inordinate self-esteem; to their love of independence, which makes them dislike the proximity of a neighbour; to their hatred for dynasties and governments; democrats by their nature, the only democrats on the earth, the only race which truly comprehends the meaning of the word liberty. 39—41.

“8. But I have not yet spoken of the physical and mental qualities of the Saxon race; these words include all, for “the Chronicle of Events” which have happened to them, whether in England or elsewhere, is a mere chapter of accidents, influenced deeply by the qualities of the average men of the race. So soon as I shall briefly have described these, it will be proper to consider the import of two great physiological laws already mooted—namely: Can a mixed race be produced and supported by the intermingling of two races? Can any race occupy, colonize, and people a region of the earth to which they are not indigenous?

“In all climes, and under all circumstances, the Saxons are an all powerful, athletic race of men; the strongest, as a race, on the face of the earth. They have fair hair, with blue eyes, and so fine a complexion, that they may almost be considered the only absolutely fair race on the face of the globe. Generally speaking, they are not a well-made or propor-

tioned race, falling off most in the limbs; the torso being large, vast, and disproportioned. They are so described by LIVY, and have never altered; the mistake of PRICHARD, and the difficulty experienced by the illustrious NIEBUHR, the greatest of all historians, respecting the complexion of the modern German differing from the ancient, arises simply from this, that the middle and south German belong to another race of men. They are not Scandinavians or Saxons at all, and never were. The mistake centres in the abuse of the word German; it has been applied to two or three different races: so also has the word Teuton; hence my objections to these terms. The true Germans or Saxons of modern times resemble, or rather are identical, with those of antiquity; they follow the law of hereditary descent; climate exercises no influence over them. Two hundred years of Java, three hundred years of southern Africa, affect them not. Alter their health it may and does, withering up the frame; rendering the body thin and juiceless; wasting the adipose cellular tissue; relaxing the muscles and injuring the complexion, by altering the condition of the blood and secretions; all this may be admitted but they produce no permanent results.

“Under the influence of climate, the Saxon decays in northern America and in Australia, and he rears his offspring with difficulty. He has changed his continental locality; a physiological law, I shall shortly explain, is against his naturalization there. Were the supplies from Europe not incessant, he could not stand his ground in these new continents

A real native permanent American, or Australian race of pure Saxon blood, is a dream which can never be realized.

“The Saxon is fair, not because he lives in a temperate or cold climate, but because he is a Saxon. The Esquimaux are nearly black, yet they live amidst eternal snows; the Tasmanian is, if possible, darker than the Negro, under a climate as mild as England. Climate has no influence in permanently altering the varieties or races of men; destroy them it may and does, but it cannot convert them into any other race; nor can this be done even by act of parliament, which, to a thorough-going Englishman, with all his amusing nationalities, will appear as something amazing. It has been tried in Wales, in Ireland, in Caledonia—and failed. Explain it, ye Utopians, as you choose; I merely mention the fact. When I lectured in Liverpool, a gentleman, of the name of Martineau, put forth a discourse, in which he maintained, that we had forced Saxon laws upon the Irish too hurriedly; that we had not given them time enough to become good Saxons, into which they would be metamorphosed at last. In what time, Mr. Martineau, do you expect this notable change? The experiment has been going on already for seven hundred years; I will concede you seven times seven hundred more, but this will not alter the Celt: no more will it change the Saxon, to whom I return.

“Thoughtful, plodding, industrious beyond all other races, a lover of labor for labor’s sake; he cares not its amount if it be but profitable; large

handed, mechanical, a lover of order, of punctuality in business, of neatness and cleanliness. In these qualities no race approaches him; the wealthy with him is the sole respectable, the respectable the sole good; the word comfort is never out of his mouth—it is the beau ideal of the Saxon.

“His genius is wholly applicative, for he invents nothing. In the fine arts, and in music, taste cannot go lower. The race in general has no musical ear, and they mistake noise for music. The marrow bones and cleaver belong to them. Prize fights, bull-baiting with dogs; sparring matches; rowing, horse-racing, gymnastics: the Boor is peculiar to the Saxon race. When young they cannot sit still an instant, so powerful is the desire for work, labor, excitement, muscular exertion. Their self-esteem is so great, their self-confidence so matchless, that they cannot possibly imagine any man or set of men to be superior to themselves. Accumulative beyond all others, the wealth of the world collects in their hands. 42—45.

“9. The cap of liberty was raised in vain in Paris; the cautious Hollander was not again to be deceived. He knew also that England, commercial England was sure to betray him into the hands of the brutal Pruss and Russ. Thus, the noblest blood of the race is in abeyance: sunk into political insignificance. Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Holstein, Holland, commercial England, have overshadowed you. A colony of your own (England,) your first, your greatest colony, has exercised over your fortunes that fatal influence which England's first and

greatest colony may some day exercise over her's : we are to you, what America seems destined to be to us. Of the same race, commercial, naval, the only really good sailors in the world, our American colony disputes with us the empire of the seas ; a future Paul Jones may yet repay Britain the affair of Copenhagen ; but it must come from a Saxon race, for the Saxons alone are sailors.

“The results of the physical and mental qualities of a race are naturally manifested in its civilization, for every race has its own form of civilization. The historian, the talented statesman GUIZOT, for example, who failed in forty years to learn the character of the race amongst whom he lived and ruled, he of all others, (always excepting the Prince of Bunglers, Metternich,) the most outrageously mistaken, has written a work about European civilization ; about an abstraction which does not exist. Each race has its own form of civilization, as it has its own language and arts ; I would almost venture to say science ; for although exact science, as being based on eternal and indisputable truths, must ever be the same under all circumstances and under all climes, it does not follow that its truths should even be formulated after the same fashion. Civilization, or the social condition of man, is the result and test of the qualities of every race ; but it would be unfair to judge the European Saxon by this standard, seeing that the entire race, insular and continental, is crushed down by dynasties antagonistic of their race. What is effected at Berlin and Vienna by the bayonet, is usually accomplished in London by the

law. Hence, notwithstanding the wealth of the Anglo-Saxon, no nation presents such a frightful mass of squalid poverty and wretchedness, rendering it doubtful whether such a form of civilization be a blessing or curse to humanity. I lean with Tacitus to the latter opinion.

“No race perhaps—(for I must make allowances for my Saxon descent,)—no race perhaps exceeds them in an abstract sense of justice, and a love of fair play; *but only to Saxons*. This of course they do not extend to other races. Aware of his strength of chest and arms, he uses them in self-defence: the Celt flies uniformly to the sword. To-day and to-morrow is all the Saxon looks to; yesterday he cares not for; it is past and gone. He is the man of circumstances, of expediency without method; “try all things, but do not theorize.” Give me “constants,” a book of constants; this is his cry. Hence his contempt for men of science: his hatred for genius arises from another cause; he cannot endure the idea that any man is really superior in any thing to himself. The absence of genius in his race he feels; he dislikes to be told it: he attempts to crush it wherever it appears. Men of genius he calls humbugs, impostors. His literature is peculiar to himself, and must not be confounded with modern German literature: this latter is chiefly of Slavonian origin, mingled with the race occupying central Europe and stretching into Flanders. Uncertain as to their nature, I have called this race Flemish or Belgian; but the modern Belgians do

not well represent them. I believe them peculiar ; an off-set perhaps of the Slavonian race ; at all events not Saxon or Scandinavian. The word German, and the equivoue it admits of, has greatly confused a very simple matter. It misled ARNOLD ; it misled NIEBUHR, and a host of others : my countrymen have confounded the literature of the middle, south German, and Slavonian races, with the Scandinavian or north German ; nothing was ever more distinct.

“ All that is free in Saxon countries they, the Saxons owe to themselves ; their laws, manners, institutions, they brought with them from the woods of Germany, and they have transferred them to the woods of America. They owe nothing to any kings or princes or chiefs : originally, they had neither chief nor king ; a general in war was elected when required. In their ideas of “ property in land ” they differ also from other races ; they do not admit that any class or family, dynasty or individual, can appropriate to himself and to his hereditary heirs, any portion of the earth’s surface. Hence their abhorrence for feudality, tenures, hereditary rights, and laws of primogeniture. Soldiers and soldiering they despise as being unworthy of free men : the difficulty of teaching them military discipline and tactics, arises from the awkwardness of their forms and slowness of movement, and from their inordinate self-esteem. But when disciplined, their infantry, owing to the strength of the men, becomes the first in the world. 46—48.

PHYSIOLOGICAL QUESTION.

SECTION I.—*Do races ever amalgamate? What are the obstacles to a race changing its original locality?*

“10. I have heard persons assert, a few years ago, men of education too, and of observation, that the amalgamation of races into a third or new product, partaking of the qualities of the two primitive ones from which they sprung, was not only possible, but that it was the best mode of improving the breed. The whole of this theory has turned out to be false:—1st. As regards the lower animals; 2d. As regards man. Of the first I shall say but little: man is the great object of human research; the philosophy of Zoology is not indeed wrapt up in him; he is not the end, neither was he the beginning: still, as he is, a knowledge of man is to him all-important.

“The theories put forth from time to time, of the production of a new variety, permanent and self-supporting, independent of any draughts or supplies from the pure breeds, have been distinctly disproved. It holds neither in sheep nor cattle: and an author, whose name I cannot recollect, has refuted the whole theory as to the pheasant and to the domestic fowl. He has shown that the artificial breeds so produced are never self-supporting. Man can create nothing: no new species have appeared, apparently, for some thousand years; but this is another question I mean not to discuss here, although it is obvious that if a hybrid could be produced, self-supporting, the elaborate works of Cu-

VIER would fall to the ground. The theory of Aristotle, who explained the variety and strangeness of the animal forms in Africa, on the grounds that a scarcity of water brought to the wells and springs animals of various kinds, from whose intercourse sprung the singularly varied African Zoology, has been long known to be a mere fable.

"Nature produces no mules; no hybrids, neither in man nor animals. When they accidentally appear they soon cease to be, for they are either non-productive, or one or other of the pure breeds speedily predominates, and the weaker disappears. This weakness may either be numerical or innate.

"That this law applies strictly to man himself, all history proves: I once said to a gentleman born in Mexico,—Who are the Mexicans? I put the same question to a gentleman from Peru, as I had done before to persons calling themselves Germans—neither could give a distinct reply to the question. The fact turns out to be, that there really are no such persons; no such race.

"When the best blood of Spain migrated to America, they killed as many of the natives, that is, the copper colored Indians, indigenous to the soil, as they could. But this could not go on, laborers to till the soil being required. The old Spaniard was found unequal to this; *he could not colonize the conquered country*; he required other aid, native or imported. Then came the admixture with the Indian blood and the Celt-Iberian blood; the produce being the mulatto. But now that the supplies of Spanish blood have ceased, the mulatto must

cease, too, for as a hybrid he becomes non-productive after a time, if he intermarries only with the mulatto: he can no longer go back to the Spanish blood; that stock has ceased; of necessity then he is forced upon the Indian breed. Thus, year by year, the Spanish blood disappears, and with it the mulatto, and the population retrograding towards the indigenous inhabitants, returns to that Indian population, the hereditary descendants of those whom Cortez found there; whom nature seemingly placed there; not aliens, nor foreigners, but aboriginal. As it is with Mexico, so it is with Peru.

“When Mr. Canning made his celebrated boast in Parliament, that he had created the republics of Mexico and Peru, Columbia, Bolivia and Argentine, I made, to some friends, the remark, that to create races of men was beyond his power, and that the result of his measure would merely be to precipitate that return, sure to come at last, the return to the aboriginal Indian population, from whom no good could come, from whom nothing could be expected; a race whose vital energies were wound up; expiring: hastening onwards also to ultimate extinction.

“If we look to the period of Rome’s conquests, we shall find that no amalgamation of races ever happened; in Greece it was the same. It would seem, indeed, that happen what will, no race, however victorious they may be, has ever succeeded in utterly destroying a native population and occupying their place. Two laws seem to me the cause of this. Should the conquering party be numerous,

there is still the climate against them; and if few, the native race, antagonistic of the conquerors, again predominates; so that after most conquests the country remains in the hands of the original race.

“Let us turn now to the ancient world, to Europe, and Asia, and Africa, and inquire into the history of the pretended amalgamation of races: the extinction of one race and the substitution of another, for these two questions may be considered together.

“There has been no amalgamation of the Celtic and Saxon races in Ireland. They abhor each other cordially. When I publicly asserted this some years ago, I was as publicly contradicted. I call on those persons now to say whose opinion was the correct one; the Irish Celt is as distinct from the Saxon as he was seven hundred years ago. There is no mistaking the question now. Mr. MACAULAY, in his *Chronicles of the English People*, will have it that the pitiable state of the Irish is owing to their religion; but the Caledonian Celt is an Evangelical Protestant, and so also is the Cymbrii, or Welsh: now I ask this plain question: Is the Caledonian Celt better off than the Hibernian? Is he more industrious? more orderly, cleanly, temperate? Has he accumulated wealth? Does he look forward to to-morrow? Though a seeming Protestant, can you compare his religious formula with the Saxon? It is the race, then, and not the religion; that elastic robe, modern Christianity, adapts itself with wonderful facility to all races and nations. It has little or no influence that I can perceive over human affairs,

further than a great state engine serving political purposes; a tub for the whale. The great broad principles of the morality of man have nothing to do with any religion. The races of men still remain distinct—the gipsies mingle not, neither do the Jews. In Swedish and Russian Lapland, the Lappes remain apart; the Fins are Slavonians, they mingle not with the adjoining Saxon race; the Saxons remain distinct from the Slavonians in the Grand Duchy of Posen, and in all eastern Prussia. An attempt was made by the Germans to destroy the Slavonian race in Bohemia; it was a thirty years war, conducted by the savage and imbecile House of Hapsburg against the Bohemians. It utterly failed, and the inhabitants are still Slavonian. The Muscovite has grasped all northern Asia, yet he has not succeeded in destroying any race, neither do they amalgamate with the Russ. The French Celt has never yet been able to live and thrive in Corsica; Algeria, he can, I fear, hold only as a military possession: a colonist, in the proper sense of the term, he never can become. On the banks of the Nile still wander in considerable numbers the descendants of the men who built the pyramids, and carved the Memnon and the Sphynx. Yet Egypt is in other hands, as if the destinies of the Coptic race had been decided. No one has yet clearly explained to the world the precise nature of the dominant race in Egypt; I mean here, the character of the great bulk of the population. They do not seem to increase in numbers; if this, then, be the case, their ultimate possession of Egypt may be

doubted : the Coptic blood still lingers in the land, waiting the return of an Amenoph, a Sesostris, a Leader.

“ Let us attend now to the greatest of all experiments ever made in respect of the transfer of a population indigenous to one continent, and attempting by emigration to take possession of another ; to cultivate it with their own hands ; to colonize it ; to persuade the world, in time, that they are the natives of the newly-occupied land. Northern America and Australia furnished the fields for this, the greatest of experiments ; already has the horse, the sheep, the ox, become as it were indigenous to these lands. Nature did not place them there at first, yet they seem to thrive, and flourish, and multiply exceedingly. Yet, even as regards these domestic animals, we cannot be quite certain ; will they eventually be self-supporting ? Will they supplant the llama, the kangaroo, the buffalo, the deer ? Or, in order to effect this, will they require to be constantly renovated from Europe ? If this be the contingency, then the acclimatation is not perfect. How is it with man himself ? The man planted there by nature, the Red Indian, differs from all others on the face of the earth ; he gives way before the European races, the Saxon and the Celtic : the Celt-Iberian and Lusitanian in the south ; the Celt and Saxon in the north. Of the tropical regions of the new world I need not speak ; every one knows that none but those whom Nature placed there can live there : that no Europeans can colonize a tropical country. But may there not be some doubts of their

self-support in milder regions? take the Northern States themselves. There the Saxon and the Celt seems to thrive beyond all that is recorded in history. But are we quite sure that this success is fated to be permanent? Annually from Europe is poured a hundred thousand men and women of the best blood of the Scandinavian, and twice that number of the pure Celt; and so long as this continues he is sure to thrive. But check it; arrest it suddenly, as in the case of Mexico and Peru; throw the *onus* of reproduction upon the population, no longer European, but native, or born on the spot; then will come the struggle between the European alien and his adopted father-land. The climate; the forests; the remains of the aborigines not yet extinct; last, not least, that unknown and mysterious degradation of life and energy which in ancient times seems to have decided the fate of all the Phœnician, Grecian, and Coptic colonies. Cut off from their original stock, they gradually withered and faded, and finally died away. The Phœnician never became acclimatized in Africa, nor in Cornwall, nor in Wales; vestiges of his race, it is true, still remain, but they are mere vestiges. Peru and Mexico are fast retrograding to their primitive condition; may not the Northern States, under similar circumstances do the same? Already the United States man differs in appearance from the European; the ladies early lose their teeth; in both sexes the adipose cellular cushion interposed between the skin and the aponeuroses and muscles disappears, or, at least, loses its adipose portion; the muscles

become stringy, and show themselves; the tendons appear on the surface; symptoms of premature decay manifest themselves. Now what do these signs, added to the uncertainty of infant life in the Southern States, and the smallness of their families in the Northern, indicate? Not the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon into the Red Indian, but warnings, that the climate has not been made for him, nor he for the climate. See what even a small amount of insulation has done for the French Celt in Lower Canada. Look at the race there! small men; small horses; small cattle; still smaller carts; ideas smallest of all; he is not even the Celt of modern France. He is the French Celt of the Regency; the thing of Louis XIII. Stationary, absolutely stationary, his numbers, I believe, depend on the occasional admixture of fresh blood from Europe. He has increased to about a million since his first settlement in Canada; but much of this has come from Britain, and not from France. Give us the statistics of the original families who keep themselves apart from the fresh blood imported into the province; let us have the real and solid increase of the original habitans, as they are pleased to call themselves, and then we may calculate on the result. Had the colony been left to itself, cut off from Europe for a century or two, it is my belief that the forest, the buffalo, the *wilde*, and the Red Indian would have pushed him into the St. Lawrence, from the banks of which he never had the courage to wander far; amalgamating readily with the Red Indian by intermarriage, (for the Celt has not that antipathy to the dark races

which so peculiarly characterize the Saxon;)—amalgamating with the Red Indian, the population would speedily have assumed the appearance it has in Mexico and Peru; to follow the same fate, perish or return to the original Indian; and finally, to terminate in the all but utter destruction of the original race itself. 51—58.

“11. That by mere climate, giving to the expression its utmost range of meaning, a new race of men can be established in perpetuity, is an assertion which for the present is contradicted by every well-ascertained physiological law, and by all authentic history. On the limited habitable territory of the Cape of Good Hope, shut in by deserts and by the sea, lived, when the Saxon Hollander first landed there, two races of men, as distinct from each other as can well be imagined, the Hottentot, or Bosjeman, and the Amakoso Caffree. To these was added a third, the Saxon Hollander. What time the Bosjeman child of the desert had hunted these desert and arid regions, for what period the Hottentot had listlessly tended his flocks of fat-tailed sheep, how long the bold Caffree had herded his droves of cattle, cannot now be ascertained: the Saxon Hollander found them there three hundred years ago, as they are now in respect of physical structure and mental qualifications, inferior races, whom he drove before him, exterminating and enslaving the colored man; destroying mercilessly the *wilde* which nature had placed there; and with the *wilde*, ultimately the colored man, in harmony with all around him—antagonistic, it is true, but still in harmony to a cer-

tain extent; non-progressive; races which mysteriously had run their course, reaching the time appointed for their destruction.

“To assert that a race like the Bosjeman, marked by so many peculiarities, is convertible, by any process, into an Amakoso Caffree or Saxon Hollander, is at once to set all physical science at defiance. If by time, I ask what time? The influence of this element I mean to refute presently: the Dutch families who settled in Southern Africa three hundred years ago, are now as fair, and as pure in Saxon blood, as the native Hollander; the slightest change in structure or color can at once be traced to intermarriage. By intermarriage an individual is produced, intermediate generally, and partaking of each parent; but this mulatto man or woman is a monstrosity of nature—there is no place for such a family: no such race exists on the earth, however closely affiliated the parents may be. To maintain it would require a systematic course of intermarriage, with constant draughts from the pure races, whence the mixed race derives its origin. Now, such an arrangement is impossible. Since the earliest recorded times, such mixtures have been attempted and always failed; with the Celt and Saxon it is the same as with Hottentot and Saxon, Caffree and Hottentot. The Slavonian race or races have been deeply intercalated for more than twice ten centuries with the South German, the pure Scandinavian, the Sarmatian, and even somewhat with the Celt, and with the Italian as conquerors: have they intermingled? Do you know of any mixed race the

result of such admixture? Is it in Bohemia? or Saxony? or Prussia? or Finland?

“This seems to be the law. By intermarriage a new product arises, which cannot stand its ground; 1st. By reason of the innate dislike of race to race, preventing a renewal of such intermarriages; 2d. Because the descendants will of necessity fall back upon the stronger race, and all traces, or nearly so, of the weaker race must in time be obliterated. In what time, we shall afterwards consider. If a pure race has appeared to undergo a permanent change when transferred to a climate materially differing from their own, such changes will be found, on a closer inquiry, to be delusive. It has been asserted of the West-Indian Creole; of the Mexican, Peruvian, and Chilian Creole; and of the North American or Saxon Creole, now called a United States man; but the pretended changes we shall find are either trifling, or not permanent, or do not exist. When speaking of the races so located, that is, dislocated from the climate and land of their origin, and from the pure race which sent them forth, swarms of living beings, in search of new lands, I shall endeavor to apply those laws practically which are here merely announced, discussing also, in separate sections, some of the leading doctrines applicable to all men. Of other animals I speak not here, for this obvious reason—the species of animals as they now exist, have their specific laws regulating their existence. What is true of one may or may not be true of another. Sheep have their specific laws; so have cattle and horses, pigs and ele-

phants. Some of the laws regulating their existence are applicable to man in a general way—others, and the greater part, are not. When I am told that there is a short-legged race of sheep somewhere in America, the product of accident, my reply is simply—I do not believe it, even although, to make the story look better, it has been also added, that from among the few short-legged sheep accidentally produced in the flock, the owner was careful to extrude the long-legged ones, and so at last his whole flock became short-legged, and he *had no more trouble with it*. It is the old fable of Hippocrates and the Macrocephali reduced to something like a scientific formula; transferred from sheep it has been made the basis of a theory of race, of mankind—reducing all to *accident*. By accident, a child darker than the rest of the family is born; when this happens in the present day, it is also, by courtesy, called an accident, but its nature is well understood; not so in former times. This dark child, a little darker than the others, separates, with a few more, from the rest of the family, and sojourns in a land where a hot sun embrowns them with a still deeper hue. In time they become blacker and blacker, or browner and browner. Should they travel north instead of south, it is all the same, for extreme cold produces the same effect as extreme heat! This is ancient and modern physiology! it is the old fable of Hippocrates revived. Men's minds seem to move in circles, ever reverting to ancient errors; it is as the struggle of a small body of men against the gloomy forest, the bog, the

spreading desert; lovers of truth vainly endeavoring to clear away the accumulated ignorance of fifty centuries.

“For my own part, I do not think such theories worthy a serious refutation. Man is not a ruminant; he has his own physiological laws, which ought long since to have been traced. But the statement in question is not even true of sheep, for by no effort, save that of a constant never-ceasing intermixture, or draught on the pure breeds, can a mixed breed be maintained. Leave it to itself, and it ceases to be. It is the same with man; with fowls; with cattle; with horses. Distinct breeds, when not interfered with, mark them all. Man can create nothing permanent; modify he may for a time, but he can create no new living element. It is said that the cattle fed on the pampas of South America have assumed three distinct forms; be it so—the fact proves nothing, for they are constantly interfered with by man. I have been assured that our domestic cattle, imported into New Zealand and New Holland, return after a generation or two to the primitive breeds—nothing more likely, this, in fact, being the physiological law. In Britain we have a white breed of cattle, confined within the domains of two wealthy families; they remain *white*, merely because all calves which show other colors are destroyed. See how difficult the simplest physiological question becomes. We talk freely of men's destiny and races, and their laws, as if we knew them, whilst as yet no one has solved so

simple a question as the origin of the white cattle of Britain and Wales. But to return to man.

“Add to the hypothesis of *accidental* origin of a variety in family, its separation from its tribe, yet even this explanation will fail; for the family so separated, by the very law which produced the variety, will be fertile in other varieties; they therefore must also appear in numbers at least equal to the others. In the history of the Jewish and Gipsy races I shall consider this question at greater length, and endeavor to show that the application of the doctrines of transcendental anatomy made in this direction is also false.

“‘Time and development change all things;’ this is my own belief: but what is the time required? when was man different from what we find him now? Development is positive: time has no existence. The existing order of things we see, though imperfectly; of the past, but little has been preserved in human records—that little is not understood. One thing, however, is certain—the Pyramids exist, and the ancient tombs of Egypt; the ruins of Karnac; the paintings on the walls of these tombs; some Etruscan remains; the Egyptian mummies; the Cyclopean walls—these are nearly all the sure data which man has to depend on whilst tracing back his history, and the history of the existing order of life, towards that unknown past from which he sprung. Now what do these amount to? What do they prove? They are but as yesterday, compared with the period through which the globe *has rolled in space*; through which life has under-

gone its ever-succeeding developments; yet they announce one fact at least, that man, up to the earliest recorded time, did not differ *materially* from what he is now; that there were races then as now; that they seemed to be identical (but of this we are not quite certain) with those now existing, and that neither over them, nor over the living world around, has climate or external circumstances effected any serious changes, produced any new species, any new groups of animal or vegetable life, any new varieties of mankind. To the important fact, if it really be one, thus made out, the illustrious and cautious CUVIER first drew men's attention; but his reserve, his habitual caution, induced him to omit all mention of man. So long as he excluded him from his line of observation, the Sorbonne, he was aware, cared not what he did with the rest. It was his practice to leave untouched whatever he thought speculative, unsafe, transcendental—whatever he fancied shocked too much the present feelings. Satisfied with the refutation of St. Fond, and the geologists of his day, he desired to proceed no further. 'He had formed an æra—he constituted an æra;' to his positive opinions and well-ascertained facts were tacked theories by the theologico-geological school of England, which he never acknowledged, which he never admitted, which he never sanctioned by word or writing. We shall consider these matters in a future section; in the meantime one thing remains certain, which he either did not notice, or avoided mentioning—man has changed no more than other animals; as they were in Egypt

when the pyramids were built, so are they now, men and animals: man seems different, it is true: at first it would appear as if a race had become extinct; we shall find it is not so. The Coptic race is no more extinct than is the ancient Mexican, and even now it is questionable whether the mixed barbarian and savage race of slaves, now called Egyptians, will ultimately stand their ground, fed though they be by imports from Nubia and the White Nile—from Greece and Asia Minor. They are not Arabs: a motley crew, as I understand, destined to cease when the imports are withdrawn, and to assume a form traceable to the dominant blood now circulating, be it Copt or Arab, Nubian or Negro.

“But in claiming for the races of men an antiquity coeval with the historic period, and with man’s earliest appearance on the earth, I venture to caution you from accepting of this deduction or that of M. CUVIER, in respect of animals, as being rigorously accurate. Neither men nor animals seem to have changed; as regards the latter, CUVIER asserted that they had not in the slightest degree. Admitting the expression to be sufficiently accurate for his and our purpose, yet I think it strong, perhaps too strong. Data sufficiently accurate and extensive are wanting to enable us to institute a very rigorous comparison. I do not mean to cavil at the expression: the changes undergone in five or six thousand years are so small as to escape notice; but it does not absolutely follow that no changes whatever have taken place. On the tombs of Egypt, the most valuable of all existing records,

there stands the Negro, the Jew, and Copt, the Persian, the Sarmatian, nearly as we find them now; this is enough for our purpose. Herodotus says that the Egyptians of his days were black men: very possibly; but neither before nor since his period has this remark been found to be true. The paintings on the tombs and the mummies entombed alike refute his assertion, if extended beyond his period. He gossipped, I am afraid, like some other travelers, and talked a good deal about what he did not understand. Was he ever in Egypt? I feel disposed to doubt it. His story about the Persian skull reminds me of the next assertion of ancient and modern physiologists, of the supposed influence of external, even mechanical, means over the human form.

"It is to Hippocrates we owe the story of the Macrocephali, inhabiting at that time the shores of the Euxine. They were a race with narrow, elongated, elevated heads and depressed foreheads, like the American Indians, or copper-colored race, and more especially like the Carib and the Chenook. This variety in form the illustrious Greek explains in this way—for of the unity of mankind he never doubted any more than any other strictly scientific man: he fancied, for it was mere fancy, that this extraordinary form of head was at first produced by pressure, but that in time this pressure became unnecessary, the malformation becoming permanent by hereditary descent. Two hypotheses in a breath, both opposed to well-ascertained physiological laws. That the Carib and Chenook, and the ancient Ma-

crocephali, fancied that by pressure they could give to the human head what form they chose, is certain enough; but does it follow that they could do so? The form of the head I speak of is peculiar to the race; it may be exaggerated somewhat by such means, but cannot be so produced: neither will such deformation become hereditary. For four thousand years have the Chinese been endeavoring to disfigure the feet of their women: have they succeeded in making the deformation permanent? Corsets have been worn time out of mind: GALEN complains of them; he ascribes to them all sorts of bad results, deformities of spine and chest. Have such become hereditary? All matrons still produce virgin daughters. For how long have the Jews, with African and Eastern nations, practised circumcision? Has the deformation become hereditary? Is there any instance of such accidental or mechanical deformities becoming transmissible by hereditary descent?

“The varieties of form classed under the law of deformation, and dependent on the operation of the great law of unity of organization, belong to a different category, as will be explained in a distinct chapter on that head; but even they are kept in constant check by the laws of specialization, restoring man and animals to their specific shapes, else what would life terminate in? Varieties in form proceed only to a certain length—they are constantly checked by two laws, the laws maintaining species as they exist—1, the tendency to reproduce the specific form instead of the variety; 2, non-viability, or non-

reproduction, that is, extinction. This it is which checks deformations of all kinds, and I even think I have observed varieties in form to be more common in those who die young than in those reaching adult years, as if the very circumstance of these internal deformations or varieties, however unimportant they may seem, coincided at least, if they were not the efficient cause of early decay of the vital powers and of premature death. Had the heads of the Macrocephali of ancient times, and of the Carib and Chenook and Peruvian of modern, owed their forms to mechanical means, that form would and must have ceased with their immediate descendants, or the race would have perished. How much more singular is the fact, that there should exist naturally men with heads and brains so singularly shaped; that it should be in their nature; that the form should still persist—unalterable, dependent on no climate, Asiatic—American; ancient and modern. This curious question we shall discuss when speaking of the American race; let us in the meantime bring this lecture to a close: the great laws announced in it will fall to be examined again in their application to race and to human history.

“It was Herodotus who said, that on a field of battle it was easy to distinguish the Egyptian from the Persian skull, the former being hard, the latter soft. Herodotus must, I think, have studied medicine; he gives a reason in such a pleasant off-hand way for all natural phenomena. The reason he assigns for this difference is, that the Persians covered the head—the Egyptians used no head-dress.

Admitting both facts to be true, and I doubt them both, the reason given explains nothing; if there was a difference, it depended on race. The Copt was African; the Persian, Asiatic: they were different races of men—that is all. The *black* Egyptians of Herodotus have not been seen since his time.

“The theories and errors of Hippocrates and Herodotus linger in the physiological schools to this day. M. Foville, for example, ascribes to mechanical pressure on the head of the infant, the wide hollow groove occasionally traversing it over the region of the vertex, and so frequently persisting to the adult state—a deformation wholly independent of such a cause, and occurring in all countries. The late Mr. Key persisted in blaming tight and short shoes for the most common deformity of the feet; and Dr. Combe, still lingering on the gossip of Herodotus, finds a Bœotia in Holland, with all its presumed results—a marshy, foggy, wet and heavy land, giving rise to phlegm and dulness—the grave and witless, plodding Dutchman. I put these three observations, but not the writers, under the same category; the last is refuted by every observation, and is below notice. But to return.

“To Hippocrates, then, as representing the entire class of physiologists, we owe most of the medical, philosophical, and theo-philosophical notions of the present day; the theories which teach that cities looking to the west differ very materially from cities looking to the east, as also their inhabitants; the reason why Asiatics differ from Europeans, not one word of which is true: how in a country where the

seasons and climates differ much, the inhabitants also must differ much, the reverse of which is nearer the truth; to him we owe the theory, that people living under a monarchy are servile and cowardly, whilst republicans are bold and brave—a doctrine which certainly has some little show of truth, and which we may afterwards discuss. His theories he transmitted to the scholars of Greece; they affected even Aristotle, a master-mind, who ought to have known better; but it is difficult to shake off the prejudices of centuries and education. Aristotle assigns as a cause for the variety of strange and fantastic forms of animal life with which Africa abounds, and abounded also in his time, the scarcity of water, which, bringing to the same wells and springs all sorts of animals, gave rise to an endless variety of offspring! And this reminds me of a mysterious law in nature, not yet fully investigated, to which I next beg to call your attention. I know that I have little or no occasion now to tell you, that climate in no way influences man's form or color permanently; some of the exceptions to this statement, which will no doubt occur to you, fall to be explained in the next section. 65—75.

"12. But this last element of population, on which the Mexican, and Peruvian, and Chilian no doubt were thus thrown back, had already mysteriously run its course: they were on the decline when Cortez landed; they had passed through their determined eras and civilization; on the curved line indicating their course they seemed to have passed the zenith; their population then as it is now, was

on the wane—was gradually becoming extinct. This the motley group called Mexicans and Peruvians now feel—they are instinctively conscious that the period approaches when all again must become desert or Indian—a moral or a physical desert; absence of life, or absence of mind. But for the Saxon invasion from the north, it might have happened in Mexico and Peru, and in Chili, that the desolation of these countries—say a hundred years hence—would have burst on Europe as an astounding and inexplicable fact. The man of the United States, who as yet delights in no name, might have walked into the land without any interruption or hindrance from any race. Penetrating to the centre of the so-called Empire, he might have once more seen the sacrificial fires kindled on the pyramids of Cholula. A native population of nearly pure Indian would once more have regained its ascendancy, to perish ultimately—to return to that nothing out of which they came.

“But now the Saxon, grasping at more wealth, more land, comes in as a new element upon the already effete creations of Canning. Will he fare better? Will he be able to extinguish a race—the Indian of South America—and put himself in its place? I believe not, in that climate at least. Will he succeed even in North America? Is the boasted Union to be permanent? The pettifogging politicians of the day say, seriously and gravely, that in their opinions it must come to a monarchy at last! Profound politicians! A half dozen monarchies at it; a king of New York, a Leopold installed in

Kentucky, an Otho in Michigan, a liberal despotism under a prince of the noble house of Brunswick or Brandenburg. But you forget that these people are Saxons: democrats by their nature. Look at the Dutch Saxon at the Cape, a handful of Boors—yes, a mere handful of Boors—bearding your best cavalry officer at the head of six regiments. You have yet to discover the true nature of the *Saxon*; you will not yet understand it, and yet you received a sharp lesson at Boston, and at New Orleans, losing the mightiest colony ever founded by any race or nation. Australia comes next; then South Africa; your Norman government cannot profit by experience. But to return.

“As the Southern States of America become depopulated by the operation of the physiological laws laid down, that vast land will fall an easy prey to the Saxon and Celtic races now occupying the northern States. That they will ultimately seize on them there cannot be a doubt, driving before them the expiring remains of native and Lusitanian, Celt-Iberian and Mulatto—a worthless race—effete, exhausted, before even Hannibal and a handful of Carthagenians held the country from which they sprung as a mere appendage of Carthage. A single Roman legion was enough for Old Spain; it could hold it yet. The United States men, the descendants of Anglo-Saxon, the Fleming and Celt, with a sprinkling of South and Middle German, are now in possession of North America—it seems to be absolutely theirs: they form a union—they begin to talk of natives and foreigners—they have forgotten

who they are, and fancy themselves *Americans*, because they choose to call themselves so ; just as our West India planters might have assumed the name and title of native true-born Caribs. The "United States man" believes himself to be independent of Europe, by which, if he means anything, he must mean independent of the race or races from which he sprung. 79—81.

"13. In remote times the Scandinavian or Saxon attempted Gaul, Sarmatia, and Slavonia. They have been constantly defeated. The Austrian empire is not Saxon—it is not even German. They next attempted Italy and Greece, with no better success. Malta is not English, any more than Cephallonia. In western tropical Africa, the "season" generally reduces England's efforts at colonization to a dozen or two white men, the result of a century's exertions on the part of England. Mighty England, with her fastgrowing race, cannot colonize a single acre of a tropical African country ; her flag, however, still waves over it, no African seemingly thinking it worth while to pull it down. The experiments on this head are not altogether before the public ; the springs and causes of action seldom reach the surface so as to be visible. Two bold attempts at least were made in my own time to convert Central Africa into another India ; to discover in Central Africa a "mine of patronage ;" but it would not do. The first attempt, in my own recollection, was to fill the country with troops ; commerce would have answered better, but our Norman government always prefers the bayonet to

any other form of progress. They first tried the bayonet; troops were sent in large numbers, composed of men who, having deserted, had commuted their sentence of punishment into enlisting into what was called a condemned regiment—that is, a regiment serving on the west coast of Africa. Condemned they were, no doubt, for few escaped the effects of the deadly climate. Nearly all perished, and the experiment was a failure.

“The second attempt was made by that profound statesman, Lord Russell. The open bayonet having failed, it was covered with bales of goods, and sent up the Niger; the bayonet was still there, but concealed. A central fort, high up the Niger or Quorra, was wanted in the centre of tropical Africa—a Fort Vittoria—to enslave countless nations, hitherto free. But the second experiment failed, like the first, to be repeated again, no doubt, at some future period. This is not the first time the Saxon has attempted to extend his race to Africa; he tried it during the dark ages, but the natives beat *him*. With gunpowder and wealth, the sinews of war, he made his last attempt: climate defeated it. So at least it seemed; but I partly doubt this. The affair might have gone off better under able leaders.

“Let us next examine the question from a point of view, new, I believe, and it may be startling, to most of my readers. Taught to believe that man, and especially Saxon man, may live anywhere, he has been taught that vast regions of the earth have been depopled by “the mysterious arrangements of Providence, to facilitate the extension of the

Saxon race ;" that the coloured races die out before him for the same reason—wither at his mere approach, and perish ; that, peculiarly favoured by Providence and its divine dispensations, aided by gunpowder and the art of printing, the globe itself must ultimately be his. He cannot imagine the bare possibility of the race being found unequal to the colonizing a country enjoying a temperate climate. He is the man of to-day ; yesterday is nothing to him ; he forgets, he despises, he denies its existence. He is the man of this day. Onward ! is the cry. The adage of Horace was written for him. Here is a picture of the man.

" Requested by a friend to revisit Paris, on matters important to him, I proceeded to Folkestone, an ancient seaside, fishing, and smuggling town on the southern coast of England, the nearest point, I believe, to Boulogne-sur-Mer. We were to embark for 'beautiful France' next morning. A night perfectly calm, mild, clear, a moonlight night, though cold, tempted me from the great hotel complete with English comforts, to the closely-adjoining beach, where wandering alone, by the margin of the rippling tide, listening to its hollow murmur, and gazing on the placid waters trembling under the ineffectual beams of the silvery orb, my mind reverted to times and events long past. At no great distance from the shore where I stood, I had myself embarked for France, when hopes and years were fresh and young : along the shores had I brought to England the first of the wounded of Mont St. Jean. But the scene shifted to the past. Memory, ever

active, ever restless, unfolded visions of historic recollections. At a short distance, nay, perhaps on this very spot, Harold surveyed his troops; at no great distance, I knew, lay Hastings; that bloody field, surpassing far in its terrible results the unhappy day of Waterloo. From this the Celt has recovered, but not so the Saxon. To this day he feels, and feels deeply, the most disastrous day that ever befel his race; here he was trodden down by the Norman—whose iron-heel is on him yet. Here William found a congenial race, driving with them into Northern England the Saxon race; and here was all but annihilated the liberties of mankind: the questions which transcends all others—whether man is to be a free man or a slave—was nearly settled at Hastings. To this day the Saxon race in England have never recovered a tithe of their rights: and, probably, never will.

“As I thought over these great events (great, not from the handful of men, who boldly cut each other’s throats at Hastings, like stout yeomen and good Christians; but great, beyond all expression, when viewed as a contest of principle, of race; freedom against slavery; the reign of the law against the reign of the sword; whose most terrible evils still subsists in England, untouched and unassailed), I bethought me of visiting the bee-hive looking village, not altered, I believe, since Harold’s time, clustered on the slope of those white cliffs so celebrated in English song. A vulgar, filthy mechanical wall and rail crossed the village, but clearing its low, ill-shaped arch, the sea-beach was

once more before me, with ships high and dry on the strand in no ways larger than what accompanied William on that grand voyage when, true to his race, he singled out England as his antagonist—Saxon England, freed at the time from continental despotism ; continental slavery ; continental dynasties. Here, on this strand, I heard the sound of revelry proceeding from a small inn or ale-house, frequented, no doubt, by tradesmen and fishermen. Music it was not : it would be a profanation of the term to call it so : a body of jolly companions were roaring the ditty called ‘ Rule Britannia ; ’ and how Britons would never be slaves—on that very spot where these Britons were beaten to a stand-still by the single force of an adventurer, and their country subjected to the most abject slavery : an enduring slavery, never to be overcome.

“ Now we revert to the primitive colony of the Anglo-Saxon ; the Jutlander, the Dane, the Holsteiner, the Swede, the Norwegian, the Saxon in fact, who founded an Anglo-Saxon colony in Britain, and tell me, have you yet succeeded in substituting yourselves for another race ? In south England you overthrew the Fleming and the Norman at first ; but William drove you back again into Northern and central England : your government is strictly Norman ; your dynasty continental ; your peasantry slaves. Had a bridge connected Normandy with south England, your race would then have been driven still further to the north by an antagonistic race, numerically as strong as you are. In Wales you have made no progress ; your very

language being rejected by the Cymri; in Ireland your existence seems to me to depend on the Orange lodges, composed, no doubt, mostly of Saxon men. Eastern and Southern Scotland is no doubt yours, but the Caledonian Celt still holds his country.

"Thus it would appear that, after all, Britain is not so thoroughly a Saxon colony as was thought; a repetition of *Hastings* under Napoleon would have closed its career as a *Saxon country*, and free men of true Saxon blood must have sped their way in ships and boats across the Atlantic, there to make their last stand for civil and religious liberty. These you have not in Britain nor in Ireland, but in their stead, a mighty sham which suits the age and times.

"Let us follow the Saxon across the Atlantic; trace him to northern America, to the Cape, to Australia; first to northern America, where Celt and Saxon, for both assisted, have no doubt, founded a colony to which the annals of mankind afford no parallel.

"A mighty forest, extending from sea to sea, to man seemingly boundless; a new vegetable and animal world; another climate, another continent; another soil. These suffice for the existence of the native red Indian, the man of the woods; the American, in fact; he perishes from famine and wars, but seemingly not from disease; yet, when the Saxon and Celt first located themselves there, even then this race seemed to be on the wane, following in the sad round of fate others who had preceded them. Beyond them all is mystery, yet they seem to have

succeeded others, now mouldering into dust or long since become a portion of that soil from which they drew their support—to which they have returned—perishing and for ever extinct, without a name, without a history. In this land, the Celt and Saxon, with different fortunes and different views, located themselves; the Celtic colony (Canada) remained as it was; the Saxon-Celtic, impelled by Saxon energy, rapidly progressed to an astounding magnitude, threatening to overtop the world. Already the Saxon democrat raises the cry—America is ours, from the land of fire to the icy shores, where Englishmen have sought a western passage; from the Arctic to the Antarctic circle. We are the natives, shout the Saxon! Such was the language, no doubt, of the Roman, when, calmly reposing on the banks of the gently flowing Ouse, he transmitted, by post, letters to his friends at Rome or Antioch, Rhodes or Carthage, Syracuse or Byzantium, surer to reach him then than now; and such, no doubt, was the language of Cortez when he unfurled the Spanish flag in Mexico: so thought Attila, when, penetrating into Europe, he scarcely saw an enemy worthy his arms. Sesostris (if there was ever such a person) had dreams like these: and Tamerlane, Zengis Khan, and Napoleon at Moscow. But all these reckoned without their host; that is, Nature! whose laws are not human laws, who consults no man: who bids you look on and chronicle events, but predict not. The scheme of nature was never revealed to them nor to you.

“It was Barton Smith, I think, who foretold that

in time the European races located in Northern America would gradually degenerate (?) into the red Indian! This incredible nonsense passed in my younger days for sound physiology—sound orthodox philosophy. In defiance of all history, this nonsense was listened to. But why did Barton Smith stop there? Why not extend it to all animals and plants? Why should man alone be the subject of such a metamorphosis? But we have already discussed this point; let us keep to man himself.

“The Saxon and Celt migrate to America; they multiply, or seem to multiply, exceedingly, in many parts of the territory; they are equal to labor in the field—that field has, in consequence, become theirs. In the Southern States, the laborer is the Negro—that field therefore is not theirs, and that they must lose in time. Hindoos and Chinese will work as slaves for ten centuries or more, but not Negroes. In the Northern States, the Saxon is a laborer; his health and strength seem unimpaired; the statistics of population seem to be in his favor as to the extension of his race; but this is still doubtful: no sweeping epidemic, such as formerly destroyed his settlements, seem now to affect him—at least not seriously; to avoid them, he migrates or oscillates northward and southward, as the case may be; finally, and that to any race is the most important of all, he confronts no other energetic or numerically stronger race in which his race might and would merge, becoming annihilated and lost even to the recollections of men. And yet, with all this, I doubt the fact of his ultimately making good his

boast, of his ultimately becoming a race of native true born Americans. For, 1st, Spain thought so, and where is she now? Where is the boasted Empire of the Indies? 2d. The native races are not yet extinct; in the Southern States there is a Negro population, who may one day be masters; remember St. Domingo. 3d. Year after year, day almost by day, the best blood of England and Ireland is poured into the great American colony, from Nouvelle Orleans to Montreal; infused into the mass to leaven and uphold it, not in a niggard stream, as from Spain and Portugal, but in a vast tide, equal annually to the founding a mighty empire. Whilst this goes on, no statistics of population in America are worthy a moment's consideration. But when this stream shall stop, as stop it must, when the colony comes to be thrown on its own resources, when fresh blood is no longer infused into it, and that, too, from the very sources whence they originally sprung; when the separation of Celt, Saxon, and South German shall have taken place in America itself—an event sure to happen—then will come the time to calculate the probable result of this great experiment on man. All previous ones of this nature have failed; why should this succeed? Already I imagine I can perceive in the early loss of the subcutaneous adipose cushion which marks the Saxon and Celtic-American—proofs of a climate telling against the very principle of life—against the very emblem of youth, and marking with a premature appearance of age the race whose sojourn in any land can never be eternal under circumstan-

ces striking at the essence of life itself. Symptoms of a premature decay, as the early loss of teeth, have a similar signification; the notion that the races become taller in America I have shown to be false; statistics, sound statistics, have yet to be found; we want the history of a thousand families, and of their descendants, who have been located in America two hundred years ago, and who have not intermingled with blood fresh from Europe. The population returns offered us now are worthless, on a question of this kind. The colonization, then, of Northern America by Celt and Saxon, and south or middle German, is a problem, whose success cannot be foretold, cannot reasonably be believed. All such experiments have hitherto failed.

“The physiological laws just laid down, apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Saxon colony of southern Africa. The Dutch boor never labored there. He lived a wandering nomad life, the cruel oppressor of the native dark races, whom he nearly extinguished. The Anglo-Saxon assisted him bravely in the extermination of the Caffree: when the Dutch boor could no longer lord it over the dark races, he quitted the colony. Of all countries known, the Cape of Good Hope and Australia, that is, extra-tropical Africa and Australia, are esteemed the healthiest, and if anywhere, it is here that an European race might hope to live and thrive; let us hope for the best. In Australia it can scarcely be said that an antagonistic race faces them, so miserably sunk is the native population. A ready way too of extinguishing them has been discovered; the

Anglo-Saxon has already cleared out Tasmania. It was a cruel, cold blooded, heartless deed. Australia is too large to attempt the same plan there; but by shooting the natives as freely as we do crows in other countries, the population must become thin and scarce in time. But I touch the history of the dark races of men, which must not be entered on here. The so-called ancient races first merit our attention; some of these called white or fair, Caucasian by courtesy, the Jew, the Gipsy, the Copt, the Hindoo. These first require our attention: in briefly describing these races we shall touch on the physiological laws embraced in this question: Have any races of men become extinct? Or any races of animals? Have the doctrines ascribed to CUVIER any foundation in truth? 'The elucidation of the direct and indirect antagonism of man to nature's works' belongs to the chapter on the Dark Races. 91—99.

THE GIPSEY RACE.

"14. On the southern border of Scotland, not far from the sources of the Beaumont Water, and in a secluded valley communicating with that vast range of mountain country, of which the Great Cheviot may be considered the centre, there stands a village inhabited by at least two distinct races of men:—1. The common Saxon race of the south of Scotland; 2. The race of gipsies. These, the gipsy people, reside during the winter months in this village, decamping, like the Arabs, I presume, as the summer advances, late in April, or early in May, like migratory birds or quadrupeds seeking other

lands, to return again with the first snows to their winter dormitory. They neither toil nor think; theirs is the life of the wild animal, unaltered and unalterable; confine them, limit their range, and they perish. Their ancient history is utterly unknown: in the meantime, the climate of Britain has had much less effect on them than on surrounding Cheviot; swarthy in complexion, with dark long eyes, black hair, a somewhat oval face, an Eastern physiognomy, neither Jewish, nor Coptic, nor Arab; mouth larger than in the European; nostrils somewhat expanded; stature moderate. Their history is unknown; they prefer the tent to the hut, and, but for our climate, would probably never settle down anywhere; in England, I understand, they never do so, even during winter. Their modern position in Spain has been sketched by a vigorous but somewhat romantic pen. Let me state to you calmly the facts I have myself witnessed, the few observations I have made on this race, which we in ignorance call singular, merely because their animal nature, their instincts, their whole views of life and its objects, differ essentially and eternally from ours. That they remain as they are in physical form, is simply because climate and the other external agencies to which Hippocrates assigned such importance really have no permanent effects on man nor on any other animal, so long as the existing media and order of things prevail. They do not intermarry with other races; this is the grand secret. To Saxon and white races they have the same horror that the Saxon has for the Negro;

the singularity, then, applies as well to one as the other; in fact, there is nothing singular in it, seeing that it merely amounts to the dislike which one race bears to another. 103—104.

THE COPTIC OR ANCIENT AND MODERN EGYPTIANS.

“ 15. SECTION I.—Of a race I have not seen—of a people scarcely noticed by modern travellers; of a handful of men forming, so far as I can understand, the residue, the vestiges of a nation at once a race and a nation,—I naturally speak with great doubt—with hesitation—and the utmost readiness to be put right on any point whatever; for of the Copt, whether ancient or modern, I can find only conflicting statements. What race constitutes the present laborers of Egypt? No one that I know of has condescended to clear up this question. They are not Arabs, nor Negroes, nor Jews, nor Phœnicians; the Copt forms but a handful of the population. Like the Mongol, they are becoming extinct; they slowly and gradually perish; they seem to know nothing even of their own monuments; the Copts certainly are not precisely Jews, nevertheless they resemble them strongly. In their palmy days of power they caricatured the Jew, representing him with ears displaced backwards, eyes and mouth of great length, and an indescribable mixture of hircine and human aspect.

“ The modern Copt, in so far as I can learn, resembles the ancient Egyptian, judging of these last by the busts still preserved; but even this fact I cannot fully make out. English travellers are so

occupied with their personal adventures, and French with political intrigue, that there is no getting a single new or valuable fact from their silly books of travels. The modern Coptic language corresponds, I think, with the ancient Demotic. No one now thoroughly understands the hieroglyphics, and I doubt the accuracy of all the interpretations. The profane history of Egypt by the Egyptians cannot, so far as I can discover, be identified with the Jewish record; the name and times of Shisak alone having been discovered in an oval of an Egyptian temple. Even the presence of the Jews in Egypt cannot be made out by Egyptian monumental history; and the physiognomy of the laborers of ancient Egypt, as represented on the tombs and temples, is not of foreigners, but evidently Coptic. Different races of men are sketched on the walls of the tomb opened by Belzoni, showing that the characteristic distinctions of races were as well marked three thousand years ago as now; the Negro and other races existed then precisely as they are at present.

“What has become of the grand Coptic race—those builders unequalled in ancient or modern times? We are told that foreigners and slaves built these wonderful monuments which yet astonish the world; I, for one, do not believe it. The workmen employed were Egyptians. Their disposition was to build; their innate instincts were architectural, in this coinciding with the Jew, the Greek, the Phœnician. Their past history is a perfect enigma to this day, nor do I believe that a single

leading fact has been well made out. Who were the Hikshohs, the Shepherd Kings, &c.? Did civilization travel up or down the banks of the Nile? Did the Nile irrigate in former times the Lybian Desert, and are the oases proofs of such being its course? The sources of the true Nile are unknown to this day. All is mystery—problems unsolved. Herodotus says he visited Egypt, but he could not have penetrated far into the country; and he asserts, moreover, that the people were black, which is refuted by every other observation, ancient and modern.

“It was whilst examining the tomb, exhibited by Belzoni in London, 1822 or 1823, in so far as I can recollect, that I pointed out to my most esteemed friends, Messrs. Hodgkin and Edwards, the unalterable characters of races. Neither time nor climate seems to have any effect on a race.

“Herodotus says that the priests showed him the mode of formation of the Delta by the slow deposit of mud brought by the river from the interior of Africa. This most plausible and probable theory is, after all, but a theory. Three thousand years ago the waters of the Nile seem to have been just where they are now, and the black stone of Rosetta was found, as its name implies, at Rosetta, on the very borders of the Mediterranean. If this be its real locale it bestows an inconceivable antiquity on Rosetta. But Homer describes Egypt as being in the times of the Trojan war a highly civilized country; what an antiquity must we then assign to it! The Homeric poem itself was suspected to be Egyptian,

and Cadmus brought letters into Greece from Egypt, happily leaving the hieroglyphics where he found them.

“ But, in whatever way the chronological difficulties may be got over, there is a fact of curious import connected with this pyramid-building, mummy-making people or race. If we travel westwards along the shores of the Mediterranean, we discover that an offset of the race seems to have existed in the Canary Isles, or Cape de Verds; and the extinct Guanches closely resembled Egyptians in certain particulars. Now, cross the Atlantic, and in a nearly parallel zone of the earth, or at least in one not far removed, we stumble all at once upon the ruined cities of Copan and Central America. To our astonishment, notwithstanding the breadth of the Atlantic, vestiges of a nature not to be doubted, of a thoroughly Egyptian character, reappear;—hieroglyphics, monolithic temples, pyramids. I confess myself wholly unequal to the explaining any of these difficulties satisfactorily. Who erected these monuments on the American continent? It could scarcely be the native American Indians, as we call them; and yet the carvings on the remains seem to portray an American physiognomy. Still I have my doubts, and would gladly take a view of these figures and busts. Perhaps at some remote period the continents were not so far apart; they might have even been united, thus forming a zone or circle of the earth occupied by a pyramid-building people. All the literary world must no doubt remember the dispute of Byrne

respecting the comparative antiquity of the round towers and the pyramids ; his mystifications, and the novelty and ingenuity of his views, No doubt he was partly in the right. The Phœnician physiognomy can easily be made out in South Ireland and in Cornwall, but these races were not Egyptians.

Thus of all races of men we, perhaps, know least about that race whose records, could we read them, would solve many of the most difficult problems of ancient history. Their relationship to the Jews cannot be questioned, but they were not precisely Jews. The uses of the Pyramids, if they had any use, have never been discovered, and the date of their erection was unknown even in the days of Herodotus. It makes one smile when they hear of Egyptian monuments being carved and set up in Egypt in the time of Hadrian ; so early as the days of Augustus the Romans had commenced plundering Egypt of her antiquities ; and so it has continued to the present day ; from Augustus to Louis Philippe, monuments have been brought *from* Egypt, not erected there. I cannot even find that much was done during the occupation of Egypt by the Greek dynasty. Egypt had passed its grandeur, and had sunk into insignificance, when Alexander, with a handful of troops, could seize and hold it, and transmit its throne to a foreign family. The condition of Syria, of the Phœnicians, and of that section of Chaldeans called the Jews, may be judged of by this, that the historians of Alexander do not think it worth while noticing their existence. Alexander, five hundred years before our Saviour,

marched through Syria and Palestine, taking possession of the country, taking possession of Judea, as if no such people existed as the Israelites.

I look on the history of Josephus as perhaps the most monstrous historic exaggeration ever penned, and I consider him as a person devoid of all truth.
121—125

JEWISH RACE.

“16. It was during that summer when the Dutch and Belgians were carrying on a war after their own fashion—marching and counter-marching, advancing and retreating, but never fighting—that, having a few weeks leisure from the routine of a most laborious life, I resolved to visit personally two countries where I hoped to see two distinct races of men, as distinct from each other as possible, or, at least, as modern amalgamations admit of; these countries were Holland and Wales. I determined to witness for myself what changes had been effected on the population of these two countries by time and civilization; the results, in as far as regards these races, shall be submitted to you when describing the dominant races of men; but first let me speak to you of another race I found in Holland, favorably placed for observation—the Jew. I had reached London, that compound of all the earth, and I had looked attentively at the Jewish physiognomy on the streets, as he perambulates our pavements, and with a hoarse, unmusical voice, proclaims to you his willingness to purchase the cast-off clothes of others; or, assuming the air of a person of a different stamp,

he saunters about Cornhill in quest of business ; or, losing sight of his origin for a moment, he dresses himself up as the flash man about town ; but never to be mistaken for a moment—never to be confounded with any other race. The women, too, were not forgotten ; the beauties of Holywell street, there they are ; the lineal descendants of those who fled from Egypt—spoiling the Egyptians—forgetting to replace what they had borrowed—but never returning to that land to which one might suppose them attached, though it does not really seem so—the land of promise.

“ But where are the Jewish farmers, Jewish mechanics, laborers ? Can he not till the earth, or settle anywhere ? Why does he dislike handicraft labor ? Has he no ingenuity, no inventive power, no mechanical or scientific turn of mind ? no love for war, nor for the arts of peace ? And then I began to inquire into this, and I saw, or thought I saw, that the Jews who followed any calling were not really Hebrews, but sprung of a Jewish father and a Saxon or Celtic mother ; that the real Jewess admits generally of no intermarriage ; that the real Jew had never altered since the earliest recorded period ; that two hundred years at least before Christ they were perambulating Italy and Europe precisely as they do now, following the same occupations—that is, no occupation at all ; that the real Jew has no ear for music as a race, no love of science or literature ; that he invents nothing, pursues no inquiry ; that the theory of ‘ Coningsby ’ is not merely a fable as applied to the real and undoubted

Jew, but is absolutely refuted by all history. 130—132.

“ 17. As I attentively surveyed the Jewish population on the streets of London, I fancied I could perceive three different casts of features: the first Jewish, *par excellence*, and never to be mistaken; a second, such as Rembrandt drew; and a third, possibly darker, of other races intermingled. It seems to me, indeed, that almost every race shows, as it were, three forms of race which run into each other, connecting them possibly with others, so that this is not peculiar to the Jewish race. Of the first form I need say little to you, begging you merely to recollect that the contour is convex; the eyes long and fine, the outer angles running towards the temples; the brow and nose apt to form a single convex line; the nose comparatively narrow at the base, the eyes consequently approaching each other; lips very full, mouth projecting, chin small, and the whole physiognomy, when swarthy, as it often is, has an African look. When fine, that is in the young person, with no exaggeration of any of the features; when the complexion is delicate, and neither passion nor age has stamped their traits on the face; before the energies of the chest and the abdomen, the stomach and the reproductive systems, have told on the features; before the over-development of the nose and mouth has indicated their sympathies with other organs than the brain, and dislocated by their larger development that admirable balancement of head and face, of brow and nose, eyes and mouth, cheeks and chin—constituting beauty in any face wherein

it exists; before the eye of the observer is enabled to say at once, these features want proportion; that is, in a word, when youth prevails, then will you occasionally find in the Jewish face, male and female, transcendent beauty, provided your view be not prolonged. But why is it that you must not prolong your view? Why is it that the female Jewish face will not stand a long and searching glance? The simple answer is, that then the want of proportion becomes more apparent, and this is enough; but there is more than this; and I shall endeavor to explain it to you.

“The living face cannot remain long unmoved; the play of the mind is at work on every feature; a passing thought kindles up the features, expands the nostrils, widens or contracts the mouth, dimples or furrows the cheeks, enlarges or diminishes the apertures of those glorious orbs through which the soul looks beamingly. Now to stand those changes, and remain beautiful, the proportion must be perfect so as to permit of change; but the Jewish woman's features do not admit of this; the smile enlarges the mouth too much, and brings the angles towards the ears; these are, perhaps, already somewhat too far back; the external angles of the eyes extend in the same direction, and the whole features assume a hircine character, which the ancient Copt, as I shall show afterwards, knew well how to caricature. If to these be added, as happens in the male face, that certain features display the internal structure, the skeleton of the face, then all beauty flies. A brow marked with furrows or prominent points of bone,

or with both; high cheek bones; a sloping and disproportioned chin; an elongated, projecting mouth, which at the angles threatens every moment to reach the temples; a large, massive, club-shaped, hooked nose, three or four times larger than suits the face—these are features which stamp the African character of the Jew, his muzzle-shaped mouth and face removing him from certain other races, and bringing out strongly with age the two grand deformative qualities—disproportion, and a display of the anatomy. Thus it is that the Jewish face never can, and never is, perfectly beautiful. I of course include not those rare exceptions which at times appear, nor those faces composed of two races which at times approach perfection. But, before I speak of this further, let me pursue my history of inquiry.

“I had looked attentively at the Jews of London, but felt insecure as to my conclusions; in London we constantly meet with persons having Jewish features and Christian names; believed to be born of a Jewish father and Saxon mother, or of a Saxon father and half-Jewess, for no real Jewess will intermarry with a Saxon, or accept him as a lover, at least, so I have been told; and, therefore, the Jewish blood can never alter so long as the real Jewish women, or a majority of them, are of this mind. This fact I believe to be certain; it is the same with the true gipsy, and, perhaps, with the Copt, ancient and modern; the mingling of races, however, appeared to me considerable in London. On my way to Chatham there sat opposite to me a middle-aged man, whose features reminded me strongly of a

drawing by Rembrandt. His face, though swarthy, had not that characteristic look which marks the Jew of Coptic descent; but I could not ask him if he was of Jewish origin; so when the carriage drew up in Chatham, and the landlord informed us of that on which we were to dine, I objected that some of us might be Jews. Upon this the stranger informed me that he was a Jew, and yet had no objection to the use of pork.

“Having heard that I should find, in the Jew quarter of Amsterdam, such an assemblage of Jews as would give me an opportunity of perfectly appreciating the Jewish face, I was about to embark for Holland, when, willing to embrace every opportunity of looking at those glorious specimens of art in the British Museum, and especially desirous of knowing the precise form of the ancient Coptic head, and its distinctions from the Grecian of ancient and modern times, I repaired to the Museum, where, again contemplating the bust of the young Memnon, new light broke at once on my view. It seemed to me that I had, at one time or other, and that even lately, seen persons who might have sat to a sculptor for a likeness of the head of the Coptic prince; that the precise features and form, even to the most perfect resemblance of look, were to be found to this day unaltered in Britain; that the Coptic blood, or at least a race analogous, remained unaltered and strongly affiliated even to this day here in Britain; this fact, for such I felt convinced it was, excited in my mind the deepest reflections. An examination of the works of Rossellini, and also

of the "*grand ouvrage sur l'Egypte*," led me almost to believe in the theory that the Egyptian priests and aristocracy had succeeded in crushing the national progress in art by compelling the artist to repeat only certain forms, unalterably and for ever—an attempt which has been repeated in modern times, as far as could be ventured on in a first attempt, lately here in Britain, in the decorations of the House of Lords; but still I could not believe that the Coptic artist would give to the reigning prince an ideal form; he might nationalize it, but still it would be a portrait or resemblance. So soon as I began to suspect that I had seen persons in the streets of London from whose face the sculptor might have modelled the bust of the Memnon; so soon as, on re-looking and re-examining I felt sure of the fact, I became more anxious to visit the Jew quarter of Amsterdam, where I was told I should meet with ten thousand Israelites, male and female, walking about, or in collected groups, apart, to a certain extent, from the other race; that other race, the Saxon, strongly contrasted with the Jew: in groups assembled, kindling up deep associations with Eastern regions, with Egypt, and Jerusalem. To the result of this short visit I now earnestly beg your attention.

"What I saw on landing at Rotterdam appertaining to the Saxon race I shall afterwards explain to you; it is to the Jew I wish to direct your attention. Having repaired to the quarter of the city occupied by this race in Amsterdam, I found the synagogue open and crowded; divine worship was going on,

the people standing in crowds around the high altar; it was not proper to take off the hat. Near me, almost within reach, stood a youth about sixteen, and not far from him others, the perfect likeness of the young Memnon. I borrowed from him a Hebrew book he held in his hand, that I might the better observe his face. The whole congregation were singing, but exceedingly noisy and unmusical, for the Jews seem naturally to be without a musical ear; and they have no national airs that I can discover. The book was a Hebrew work, beginning at the end, or what we call the end. The women, seated in the gallery, were not visible; but in the streets they could not be mistaken; unveiled and upright, a forward look, and eyes fixed on you as you passed: nor did the eyes quit their glance until you had fairly passed them. No one turned the head, but gazed at you until you and they passed each other. In that fixed look nothing could be seen more than in the statue.

“Thus I learned that originally the ancient Copt and a large section of the Jewish people were one and the same race, with slight differences, however, which the Egyptian sculptor knew how to caricature. Of the modern Copt I can learn but little; our British and American travellers are so intensely occupied in describing their culinary arrangements for crossing the Desert of Suez, that they want time or capability to say a word about the descendants of those who built the Pyramids, and the temple of Karnac; these are trifles compared to the culinary matters; the individual, the *personnel*. Thus what

I have to say of the Coptic and Jewish as affiliated races must be brief. With their history I must not touch—I mean, of course, their historic records; but one thing, at least, is certain, that, according to their own showing, they left Chaldea a small family, and quitted Egypt a considerable people. With the Egyptian, then, they had the closest relations by intermarriage and otherwise; we cannot say how—for all is mystery here, and a mystery which must not be touched. They then mingled with the Phœnicians extensively; for the Jebusites (who were the Jebusites?) remained quietly in possession of their city and property, undisturbed apparently. Now, the city of Jebus was simply Jerusalem; and, therefore, the very capital of the kingdom was inhabited by and occupied by strangers to the latest period of the Jewish kingdom.

“From the earliest recorded times the Jews had commenced wandering over the earth, and seem to have been trafficking in cast-off garments in Italy before Rome itself was founded. Wanderers, then, by nature—unwarlike—they never could acquire a fixed home or abode. Literature, science, and art they possess not. It is against their nature—they never seem to have had a country, nor have they any yet. Like the Copt, they built temples, but not houses; they were like the Copt and the Phœnician, a *building race*. The usual struggle exists amongst them as among Christians regarding the *value of tradition*; but as regards belief they present the most extraordinary spectacle the earth ever presented.

“Now, nothing like so vast a difference in the matter of belief exists anywhere else, and it convinces me, with other facts, that the present Jewish race is composed of more than one: the Coptic, the Chaldee, and the Phœnician—allied races, no doubt, but still distinct. With them originated monkeries. They never will, of course, think with any other people. The greater number, I presume, do not believe in the existence of a soul, of a future life, or after punishments. Nothing of the sort is mentioned in the law books of Moses—these are all seemingly Egyptian ideas, derived no doubt from the East. But it is not to be forgotten that, when they resisted the power of Rome, our Saxon and Celtic forefathers were mere barbarians. When they penetrated into Britain it were impossible to say; if they came with the Phœnicians it must have been some four thousand years ago. But here they are now unaltered and unalterable. Shakspeare drew the character of the race, but he added a feature, which I believe to be impossible, namely, the elopement of a Jewish lady with a Christian—such an event I do not believe ever happened. The Christian divines translate and comment on their sacred books. Gesenius denied some important prophecies: Voltaire launched on them the whole force of his terrible satire; Buckland offers you half a dozen versions of the sacred volumes in as many weeks. Meantime the Hebrews themselves pass over all these with silent contempt—they give them not even a passing notice. Societies are got up for their conversion! Be it so. Nothing can be said

against them; but in one hundred years they will not convert one hundred Jews—not even one real Jew. This is my opinion and solemn conviction. Nature alters not; remember I speak of the true, unquestioned Jew—not of the spurious half breed, whom I notice here only for the sake of a passing remark. 133—139.

“18. SECTION I.—From the earliest recorded times might has always constituted right, or been held to do so. By this right the Slavonic race crushes down Italy, withering and blasting the grandest section of mankind. By this kind of right, that is power or might, we seized on North America, dispossessing the native races, to whom America naturally belonged; we drove them back into their primitive forests, slaughtering them piteously; our descendants, the United States men, drove us out by the same right, that is, might. The same tragedy was repeated in South America; the mingled host of Celt-Iberian adventurers brought against the feeble Mexican, Peruvian, and Brazilian, the strength and knowledge and arms of European men; the strength of a fair, or, at least, of a fairer race. The Popes of Rome sanctified the atrocities; it was the old tragedy again, the fair races of men against the dark races; the strong against the feeble; the united against those who knew not how to place even a sentinel; the progressists against those who stood still—who could not or would not progress. Look all over the globe, it is always the same; the dark races stand still, the fair progress. See how a company of London merchants lord it over a hun-

dred millions of colored men in Hindostan—I doubt the story of the hundred millions, however; the hot suns of India exalt, I have remarked, the brains of Europeans who sojourn long there; but, be it as they say, the fact is astounding. Whilst I now write, the Celtic race is preparing to seize Northern Africa by the same right as we seized Hindostan—that is, might, physical force—the only real right is physical force; whilst we, not to be behind in the grasp for more acres, annex New Zealand and all its dependencies to the British dominions, to be wrested from us by-and-by by our sons and descendants, as the United States were, and Canada will be, for no Saxon race can ever hold a colony long. The coolness with which this act of appropriation has been done is, I think, quite unparalleled in the history of aggressions. A slip of parchment signed officially is issued from that den of all abuses, the office of the Colonial Secretary, declaring New Zealand to be a colony of Britain, with all its dependencies, lands, fisheries, mines, inhabitants. The aboriginies are to be protected! Now, if the crown will let them alone, they can protect themselves: but this would not suit the wolf who took care of the sheep. Still, mark the organized hypocrisy of the official opener of the letters of others: the aboriginies are not declared Britons; they are merely to be protected!

“The Indian empire, as we call it, having turned out so profitable an investment for British capital, although for obvious reasons it never can become a permanent colony of England, suggested to “the

Office" the idea of founding a similar empire in the heart of Africa. Everything seemed favorable for the enterprise; Southern Africa had long been ours; the southern extra-tropical part, partly held nominally by the Portuguese—that is, as good as not held at all—a wide desert separating Central Africa from the Morocen, from the Celt, (in Alger,) and from the present Egyptian ruler; Central Africa, full of wealth, a productive soil, and a feeble black population! Nothing could be more favorable, and I have not the smallest doubt that the officials at the Colonial office already contemplated another India in Central Africa; the wealth, the product of the labor of many millions of Africans, in reality slaves, as the natives of Hindostan, but held to be free by a legal fiction, might be poured into the coffers of the office! But, alas for land-seeking colonial secretaries! climate interfered; exterminated the crews of their ships, and scattered the hopes of the patriot lord at the head of the office.

"Since the earliest times, then, the dark races have been the slaves of their fairer brethren. Now, how is this? Mr. Gibbon solves the question in his usual dogmatic way; he speaks of the obvious physical inferiority of the Negro; he means, no doubt, the dark races generally, for the remark applies to all. But, notwithstanding the contrary opinion professed by Dr. Tiedemann respecting the great size of some African skulls, which he found in my own museum, sent to me from the western coast of Africa, I feel disposed to think that there must be a physical, and, consequently, a psycho-

logical inferiority in the dark races generally. This may not depend altogether on deficiency in the size of the brain *en masse*, nor on any partial defects; to which, however, I shall advert presently; but rather, perhaps, to specific characters in the quality of the brain itself. It may, perhaps, be right to consider first the different obvious physical qualities of the dark races, before we enter on the history of their position as regards the mass of mankind, and especially as regards those races which seem destined, if not to destroy them altogether, at least to limit their position to those regions of the earth where the fair races can neither labor nor live—the equatorial regions and the regions adjoining the tropics, usually termed by romancists and travellers, and not unfairly, the grave of Europeans.

“First as regards mere physical strength, the dark races are generally much inferior to the Saxon and Celt: the bracelets worn by the Kaffirs, when placed on our own arms, prove this. Secondly, in size of brain they seem also considerably inferior to the above races, and no doubt also to the Sarmatian and the Slavonic. Thirdly, the form of the skull differs from ours, and is placed differently on the neck; the texture of the brain is I think generally darker, and the white part more strongly fibrous; but I speak from extremely limited experience. Mr. Tiedemann, I think it is, who says that the convolutions of the upper surface of the two hemispheres of the brain are nearly symmetrical; in our brain the reverse always happens. Lastly, the whole shape of the skeleton differs from ours, and

so also I find do the forms of almost every muscle of the body. The upper jaw is uniformly of extraordinary size, and this, together with a peculiarity in the setting on of the face, I find to constitute the most striking differences. I at one time thought that the bones of the nose were peculiar in some races, as in the Bosjeman and Hottentot. In these races, or race, for perhaps they are but one, I fancied that, more frequently at least than in others, the bones of the nose are remarkably narrow, run together to form but one bone, and show even an additional thin germ mesially; perhaps merely the anterior margin of another bone, or an extension of the spine of the frontal. Still the specimens are so few in Europe, that I feel disinclined to attach much importance to this sufficiently singular fact. I think I have seen one of the nasal bones so short and thin as not to reach the frontal.

“In the Peruvian skull, at twelve years of age, Von Tchudi thinks he has detected a new germ of bone, an interparietal bone, in fact, peculiar to the native American race; the physical differences in the structure of the Boschjée women and Hottentots are unmistakeable. Still be it remembered that we have no accurate account of the structural differences of the races of *men* on which we can depend—mere scraps of observations scarcely worthy of notice. The Negro muscles are differently shaped from ours; the curly, corkscrew locks of the Hottentot bear no resemblance to the lank, black hair of the Esquimaux. The Tasmanian and Australian

racés are said to show many peculiarities in structure.

“ Let it be remembered, however, that, after all, it is to the exterior we must look for the more remarkable characteristics of animals ; it is it alone which nature loves to decorate and to vary : the interior organs of animals, not far removed from each other, vary but little. To this fact I shall advert more particularly in the lecture on transcendental anatomy ; the internal structures of animals present details which we read imperfectly, connected as they are, on the one hand, with mechanical arrangements, and on the other with the primitive laws of creation.

“ There is one thing obvious in the history of the dark races, that they all, more or less, exhibit the outline of the interior more strongly marked than in the fair races generally. Thus the face of the adult Negro or Hottentot resembles, from the want of flesh, a skeleton, over which has been drawn a blackened skin.

“ But who are the dark races of ancient and modern times ? It would not be easy to answer this question. Were the Copts a dark race ? Are the Jews a dark race ? The Gipsies ? The Chinese, &c. ? Dark they are to a certain extent ; so are all the Mongol tribes—the American Indian and Esquimaux—the inhabitants of nearly all Africa—of the East—of Australia. What a field of extermination lies before the Saxon Celtic and Sarmatian races ! The Saxon will not mingle with any dark race, nor will he allow him to hold an acre of land

in the country occupied by him; this, at least, is the law of Anglo-Saxon America. The fate, then, of the Mexicans, Peruvians, and Chilians, is in no shape doubtful. Extinction of the race—sure extinction—it is not even denied.

“Already, in a few years, we have cleared Van Diemen’s Land of every *human* aboriginal; Australia, of course, follows, and New Zealand next; there is no denying the fact, that the Saxon, call him by what name you will, has a perfect horror for his darker brethren. Hence the folly of the war carried on by the philanthropists of Britain against nature: of these persons some are honest, some not. I venture to recommend the honest ones—to try their strength in a practical measure. Let them demand for the natives of Hindostan, of Ceylon, or even of the Cape or New Zealand, the privileges and rights wholly and fairly of Britons; I predict a refusal on the part of the Colonial-office. The office will appoint you as many aborigines protectors as you like—that is, spies; but the extension of equal rights and privileges to all colours is quite another question.

“But now, having considered the physical constitution thus briefly of some of these dark races, and shown you that we really know but little of them; that we have not data whereon to base a physical history of mankind; let me now consider the history of a few of ~~them~~—of those, at least, best known to me.

would say that there were on it thirty men, meaning Dutchmen, and fifty boys, meaning black men. *De facto*, then, the Dutch did not hold these races to be the same as their own; the fact is undeniable and incontestable. I care not for theories; the Dutch practically denied the first canon of Scripture in a body, as the United States men do now; there is no denying it. To the strange, perfectly strange, animals around them, every one differing generically and specifically from those of Europe, they gave European names: the beautiful antelope frequenting the bushy ravines of the present colony they called the *bosje-bok*, or bush-goat, although it be not a goat; they found also the elk or eland, although there are no elks in Africa; the very oxen and miserable sheep of the wretched Hottentot, the Saxon Dutchman adopted, cherished and maintained unaltered, until an irruption from Europe, of Englishmen upset them and their soul-destroying self-opin-iativeness. But we must not advert at present to these drawbacks on the Saxon character; his onward principle diffused and spread him over the colony; the go-ahead principle was at work; this, of course, led to the seizure of land, the plunder and massacre, wholesale sometimes, of the simple aborigines. Wild principles were let loose on both sides; the gun and bayonet became the law; and whilst I now write, the struggle is recommencing with a dark race, (the Caffre,) to terminate, of course, in their extinction.

"I have said that when the Dutch first landed at the Cape of Good Hope they met with the race

called Hottentots—a simple, feeble race of men, living in little groups, almost, indeed, in families, tending their fat-tailed sheep, and dreaming away their lives. Of a dirty yellow color, they slightly resemble the Chinese, but are clearly of a different blood. The face is set on like a baboon's; cranium small but good; jaws very large; feet and hands small; eyes linear in form and of great power; forms generally handsome; hideous when old, and never pretty; lazier than an Irishwoman, which is saying much; and of a blood different and totally distinct from all the rest of the world. The women are not made like other women. Tiedemann says that the two hemispheres of the brain are nearly symmetrical. Though small in stature, they are taller than their cognate race, the Bosjeman; these I take to be nearly allied to the Hottentot, though different in a good many respects. They have the physical qualities of the Hottentot, but exaggerated; they are still shorter in stature. Having no measurements on which I can depend, I offer merely as a conjecture the average height of the male and female Bosjeman,—say four feet six inches for the male, and four feet for the female. Their power of sight is incredible, and this, with all other peculiarities, disappears with a single crossing of the breed.

“The extent to which these singular races, if they really be distinct, extend northwards through Central Africa is altogether unknown. Dr. Andrew Smith, so well known for his travels in Southern Africa, informs me, that he saw them within the tropics, and he thinks they extend much higher,

moreover, he is of opinion that they form but one race; in Harris's "Ethiopia," mention is made of a race, somewhat resembling the Bosjeman, inhabiting a wild district in Southern Abyssinia, on the equator, deeply hidden amongst woods and mountains. He did not see them, and nothing positive can be gathered from his description.

"Diodorus Siculus speaks of the Troglodytes of Northern Africa, who inhabited caves and mountains, a pigmy race, and of no courage; whilst the divine Homer places, I think, in Africa, his pigmy men, against whom the cranes waged constant war.

"What interesting questions, geographical or ethnological, are here to solve! What a field does Africa still present? Whence came these Bosjemen and Hottentots? They differ as much from their fellow-men as the animals of Southern Africa do from those of South America. They are a dark race; but the sun has not darkened them. Without arts, without religion, and without civilization of any kind, for how many centuries had they occupied their kraals, content to live, and to perish like the beasts of the field, leaving no name behind them that such things were?

"Before the go-ahead Dutchmen it was easy to see that this puny, pigmy, miserable race must retire; they did so chiefly, as it seems, towards the northward, towards the Gariepine streams and the Calihari Desert. They could not retire eastward, for this reason, that they there met the Amakosos (whom we call Caffres)—a race I was the first to describe to the scientific world of Europe.

“Have we done with the Hottentots and Bosje-man race? I suppose so: they will soon form merely natural curiosities; already there is the skin of one stuffed in England; another in Paris if I mistake not. Their skeleton presents, of course, peculiarities, such as the extreme narrowness of the nasal bones, which run into one in early age not unfrequently, as we find in apes. But it is the exterior which is the most striking; and this, no doubt, is wonderful. No one can believe them to be of the same race with ourselves; yet unquestionably, they belong to the genus man. They are shrewd, and show powers of mimicry—acquire language readily, but never can be civilized. That I think quite hopeless. The Dutch endeavored to make soldiers of them; and it is recorded that they alone showed fight at the battle of Blueberg, when all the white men ran away—I state the story as I heard it. We followed and imitated the Dutch in this, as in most things, and got up a Hottentot corps, or rather, perhaps, I ought to say a Cape corps—for John Bull does not like anything he finds useful called by an offensive name. Well, call it Cape corps, or what you will, it is a miserable policy, unworthy the sanction of any statesman.

“In a word, they are fast disappearing from the face of the earth; meeting that fate a little earlier from the Dutch which was surely awaiting them on the part of the Caffres. Let us now speak of the Caffre.” 148—159.

“19. Whilst I write this, the Saxon race is at work in America, clutching at empires. The go-

ahead principle (meaning want of all principle) is at work ; the Floridas, Texas, Oregon, California, Mexico, all must reciprocate ; the hypocrisy called organized, but which means organic, no doubt is at work. I blame them not ; I pretend not even to censure : man acts from his impulses, his animal impulses, and he occasionally employs his pure reason to mystify and conceal his motives from others. But I have already explained all this ; let me, therefore, speak to you of the original American races—the races found on the American continent and its Islands by Columbus, Vespuccio, Pizarro, Cortez, and others ; not forgetting our countryman, Penn, and his troop of saints. These races still exist ; in a century or two they may have ceased to be ; the American human animal is one which seemingly cannot be domesticated—cannot be civilized. When brought within the Saxon house and pale, he becomes consumptive, and perishes ; he is the man of the woods, differing from all other men, as the apes of his continent differ essentially from those of the old world, as we term the European, African, and Asiatic continents. But not to the same extent, for there exists, in so far as I know, no remarkable or specific differences between them and us ; for the apes of the new continent have an additional tooth, distinguishing them from the old world, and the structure of the eye is essentially different. I allude more especially to the race known by the name of red or copper-colored Indians, extending, as it would seem, from Nootka Sound and the borders of the Arctic Circle to the rock-bound shores of the Land

of Fire, including, probably, all the West India islands, the tribes of Brazil, and the Caribs. At the extremities of this long and singularly shaped continent, it seems to me that two other races, which may be termed polar or arctic, exist: to the north, we are certain that the Esquimaux differ essentially from the red Indian; and in the south, it is probable that the miserable dark-colored population wandering on the outskirts of the Land of Fire are not red Indians, but a race analogous to the Australian, and to the former inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land; polar or arctic races of men, dark in color, swarthy, peculiar; I speak particularly of the Esquimaux: thus, in America, the races darken as we approach the poles; the eternal snows which ought to have whitened them, according to the theorists, from Hippocrates to Barton Smith, have failed to bleach them. Let me speak first of the red Indian, and next of the two other races, that is, if the southern one be a distinct race, which has not yet been proved.

“When the European races, within the well-authenticated historic period, discovered America, they found, in its tropical portions, organized kingdoms or empires, arts tolerably advanced, and an appearance of domesticity. In the dense woods of South America the Indian still roamed about, a naked savage; and in the woods of Northern America they still found the red man a savage, though with somewhat peculiar institutions. They were, probably, all of one race—the Botocudo and Patagonian; the Mexican, Peruvian, and red Indian;

the Carib and the flat-headed Indian of the Oregon. I say this, however, with hesitation, ready to be put right on a point respecting which I have had so few opportunities for observation. But, be it as it may, I must decline entering into any controversy with those who derive them from the Welsh, or Danes, or Mongols, or Asiatics, or Malays; or even from the ten tribes headed by Prester John. These are old women's fables, not worth a moment's consideration. For after Dr. Laing has brought his men from the Malayan peninsula to people all America, he must also bring over in the same boats, camels, goats, and sheep, to be converted into llamas, alpacas, &c. And then the *peculiar* apes, and the two-toed sloth, and ten thousand other American forms of life which Dr. Laing has forgotten to allude to; and the buffalo, which is peculiar to America. And then he must explain to us how it was that, if the Malays and Mongols came there, they did not bring with them their sheep and oxen, and horses and pigs; for nothing of the kind was found there by Columbus, nor by any body else: in short, the hypothesis is a miserable one, and merits no attention from any body. The Jewish Scriptures have only suffered by such attempts at reconciliation. 168—170.

“20. Cast your eyes on this small spot, and see what it portends; it is the Falkland Isles. There a small group of Saxons have located themselves. They could not exactly land at once on the mainland of Patagonia, and settle there; this does not suit the organized hypocrisy which regulates the

Saxon; he settles on some out-of-the-way spot—Aden, the Falkland Isles, Calcutta, Hong-Kong, Borneo; something unobtrusive. The French, a Celtic race, try to imitate us, but they do it clumsily; their hypocrisy is not so perfectly organized. The group on the Falklands are looking towards the mainland as a counterbalance to the loss of the United States first, and of Canada, which is sure to follow. But direct your attention northwards, and see the islands we hold; precariously, however, as being within the tropics, and therefore wholly inimical to the Saxon constitution. An attempt was made on Buenos Ayres; we were beaten shamefully—nothing scarcely equals it in the history of defeats: the commander of that expedition should have been hanged, and another and another sent until we drove a plough over the city, and blotted it from the maps. But not so; still the fight goes on, and we are endeavoring to seize on these fertile plains where the European can live. Across is Chili; northwards Peru, and then Mexico. Now, the fate of all these nations must be the same; it results from the nature of their populations, and nothing can arrest it. I select Mexico for the description, but most of my remarks will apply with equal truth, I believe, to the others, and especially to Peru. The original population of Mexico was Indian—the red Indian—a half-civilized barbarian. On this was engrafted the Spanish stock, itself not pure, being composed of several races, but still energetic, though likewise on the wane. The product was a mulatto, or half-breed, whom nature

never intended should exist as a race ; therefore, having ceased receiving supplies from Old Spain, mulattoes could no longer be generated from that stock ; they themselves, the mulattoes, die out and out, I think, in three or four generations, unless crossed and recrossed with some pure blood, white or black ; they, therefore, would have ceased to exist ; the Indian blood, predominating from the first, would naturally gain the ascendant ; but, as that race was seemingly dying out when Cortez seized the kingdom there existed no elements in Mexico to perpetuate the race beyond a few centuries. Now, this is precisely what has happened : all but English statisticians and statesmen knew that the Mexican population materially decreased ; and so it will be with Peru and Chili : physiological causes are at work which would have settled the rank these nations were to hold in the world, independent altogether of the Saxon sword ; this being now thrown into the balance, of course decides the matter against the Indian. Had they held by Old Spain, the Mexican Indian might have continued to receive supplies of fresh energy from Europe : not good, I admit, but still superior to their own ; as it is, their fall is certain, for the Saxon will not mingle with them ; the Spaniard, the Celt-Iberian, would, but not the Saxon ; thus they would have surely perished, even independent of Saxon interference. The physiological laws of reproduction were against them. What are their numbers ?—say five, or six, or seven millions : why, they have received more than that from Europe !— seven millions in three

hundred years. But neither nations nor individuals stand still: onward they must go, or retrograde: there is no middle course; no fixity, no finality, in that sense. I have often read, years ago, in those popular things got up to amuse the people, of the thriving state of the population of these countries; a pretty tale dressed up for the three-halfpenny literature; a smoothly written phrenological thing about the American republics, and the noble Mexicans, Peruvians, Chilians, &c.; white lies, dressed up with false statistics, to give them an air of truth; in the meantime no attempt at analysis—no desire to look into principles—a fine generalizing tone, smoothing over enormous errors.

“Mr. Canning boasted of having created the American republics; but how are they to come off? He thought, no doubt, that, being men, some few amongst them might have some common sense; but he forgot, or did not know, that he had withdrawn from them, first, fresh supplies of European blood; second, that by this he annihilated the so-called half breed, who always die out; third, that the Indian blood would finally predominate, which Indian race would never civilize, but retrograde towards that point where Cortes found them, and would also die out. These elements were not understood by Mr. Canning; if known to him, despised. In man the statesman sees a machine bound to obey the existing laws; the only power they understand to enforce the law is the bayonet. Why Mexicans or Indians (for that is really their true name) cannot unite with Saxons to form one nation, they either

cannot or will not understand. But Nature's laws are stronger than bayonets—she made the Saxon and she made the Indian ; but no mixed race called Mexican will she support. Already we are told that the Indian blood predominates : of course it will ; but give the so-called nation another century, and then let us consider what must happen. The Castilian blood will then be all but extinct, the Indian predominating ; by that time the Anglo-Saxon, true to his go-ahead principles, seizes Mexico ; but no Saxon will mingle with dark blood ; with him the dark races must be slaves, or cease to exist. This principle, so small in semblance, so unimportant, and so un consequential in appearance, will yet be found equal to the extinction of all Indian blood in Mexico ; the new canton or federated state, forming part of the union will then be colonized by Anglo-Saxons. They will forget New York and Florida, whence they came ; and become native true-born Mexicans ; thus the phrase bandied about fixes at last on a race originally from Scandinavia, and still quite unaltered. But here a difficulty awaits them : the Saxon race cannot labor in a tropical country ; they must have slaves, or leave it ; this seems the great law of nature for the protection of the tropical races of men ; neither Celt nor Saxon can labor in a tropical country ; they may seize a country, as we have done India, and hold it by the bayonet, as we do that vast territory ; but he cannot colonize it ; it is no part of Britain in any sense, and never will be ; the white race can never till the fields of Hindostan. 172—176.

"21. And now of the insular part of the new world. One great section, Hayti, has shown the white man that he cannot colonize a tropical country; it must revert to those races on whom nature has bestowed a constitution adapted to labor under a tropical sun. Cuba and Jamaica will follow; they will become black spots in the history of civilization, for nothing in the history of mankind permits us to believe in the perfect civilization of the Negro race. The policy of European races would be to expel the Negro and transplant the Coolies, Hindoos, Chinese, or other feeble races, as laborers and workmen,—bondmen, in fact. Why not call everything by its right name? Over these the Saxon and Celt might lord it, as we do in India, with a few European bayonets, levying taxes and land-rent; holding a monopoly of trade; furnishing them with salt at fifty times its value; but we cannot do this with the true Negro.

"I am disposed to ascribe to the element of race a circumstance which has occurred oftener than once in the delivery of these lectures in various institutions—literary, scientific, and popular. The attention of the audience could not be so completely secured as when I spoke to them of the fair races. It seemed to me again a question of race. What signify these dark races to us? Who cares particularly for the Negro, or the Hottentot, or the Kaffir? These latter have proved a very troublesome race, and the sooner they are put out of the way the better. I will not say that this was expressed, but I think it was understood; it seemed to be felt that black

and colored men differ very much from fair men, like ourselves. This is the world's sympathy : they are good enough people, but not of our kind. Practically, all men believe in the element of race ; it is denied only theoretically ; thus theory and practice seldom coincide : profession is not conduct ; fair words do not always imply straightforward actions. Even the daily press, so powerful an agent for the exposure of such hypocrisy, must look to those who support it ; Negroes and Red Indians, Hottentots and Kaffirs, neither read nor pay for daily journals. 178—179.

“22. But the European has, in my opinion, erred in despising the Negro, who seems to me of a race of occasionally great energy. Amongst them we find the athlete as finely marked to the waist as the Farnese Hercules. Such was the head and bust of the prize-fighter Molineux, of matchless strength, could he have properly trained himself for the fight. Below the waist the limbs fell off, as they do in most Negroes. He was reported to be a Congo black. Other races on that coast show much intelligence and energy in commercial transactions. Most dark races are without any ear for music, yet the Negro seems to have some sensibilities on this point. He is certainly at least equal to the Dutchman, and perhaps to the very best of the Saxon race. But the grand qualities which distinguish man from the animal—the generalizing powers of pure reason—the love of perfectibility—the desire to know the unknown—and, last and greatest, the ability to observe new phenomena and new relations ; these

mental faculties are deficient, or seem to be so, in all dark races. But, if it be so, how can they become civilized? What hopes for their progress? Like all other races, they have a religion of their own: it is Fetichism.

“Were they, the dark races of men, the original inhabitants of the globe? Were they the races which preceded ours, filling up the link in that vast chain of life extending from the period when first the materials of the globe were called into form to the present day? And have these races seen their day—passed through their determined course and period, hastening on towards that final exit when their remains must rank only as the remains of beings that were, like the mammals and birds of the past world, which now are no longer to be found? Or will their stock be replenished by the fair races, as Barton Smith and others supposed—the Saxon being in process of time converted into the Red Indian; the Anglo-Saxon into the Hindoo? the last descendants of the European, now flocking to Australia, into the wretched, jet-black Tasmanian and Australian? These theories we may discuss hereafter; in the meantime, let us briefly consider an important question—Can the fair races of man become so acclimatized in tropical countries as to resist the pestilential climate of such regions? Can they become equal to labor; to till the earth; to act as soldiers; as aborigines, in fact? This important question will form the subject of our next section. 190—191.

“23. In viewing France as a nation, it was forgotten

that she was peopled by a race of men, which, if not identical throughout, was more nearly so than, perhaps, any other on the globe. To the principle of nationality, that is, of political independence, she added the most glorious recollections of all times; from Brennus to Charles Martel, from Martel to Napoleon, she had never been beaten but by a world in arms. As a *nation*, then, though a nation be a mere accidental political assemblage of people—a human contrivance based on no assurance of perseverance, on no bond of nature, but on protocols and treaties, on the mockery of words called constitutions and laws of nations, made to bind the weak, to be broken by the strong—was it to be expected that France, all powerful, was to remain “cribbed up, cabined, and confined” within that territory which chance and the fate of war had assigned to her? Even as a nation! But when we take a higher view, when we remember that she represents a race the most warlike on the globe; that this race is not confined to France, but includes a portion of Spain, of the Sardinian states, and Northern Italy, of three-fourths of Ireland, of all Wales, and a large portion of Scotland, of Lower Canada, and even of a portion, perhaps, of Southern Germany, then the *nationality* sinks into insignificance; the element of race becomes paramount; Nature takes the place of parchment; and the Celtic race of men demand for their inheritance a portion of the globe equal to their energies, their numbers, their civilization, and their courage. 198.

"24. Marshal Bugeaud, whose views respecting the military colonization of Algeria formed the subject of much discussion in France, and even in England, when called on to defend the measures adopted by him, easily did so, by merely describing the deplorable condition of the civil population of the territory. Families were continually being reduced to hopeless destitution by the death of the father and of the sons equal to labor; women became prematurely old; orphans abounded everywhere, demanding the immediate interference of a Christian government! Such is M. Bugeaud's *official* statements, which none have ventured to gainsay. On these grounds he recommends the establishment, rather, of military colonies; and herein, no doubt, he was right. But a man of his energy and originality became, of course, troublesome to the rotten dynasty of Orleans, and he, I think, resigned, or was recalled from the government of Algeria; a prince of the dynasty, with a host of courtiers, was thought a safer government for the colony. Let us hope that we have seen the end, at least, of this enormity, as regards Algiers. But France has much to do before Algeria can become a portion of the French empire, inhabited by able, healthy Frenchmen: Will this ever happen? Would it not have been better to have imported a Negro population as laborers? In India we have the Coolies and the laboring servile population of Hindostan. In Jamaica the Negroes. In the southern states of America our Saxon descendants employ the Negro; it is the same in Brazil, Cuba, and all tropical

countries. In Morocco and Peru it was precisely the same: the colored population alone could labor; the European was unequal to it." 202—203.

"25. It may here be worth while considering for an instant if Algeria ever really was cultivated by European hands,—by the white races of men now or formerly existing in Europe. M. Boudin believes that it never in this sense was a colony of any European race. The Carthaginians may be said to have been in possession of Algeria as colonists and agriculturists, but still this is doubtful; not that they did not hold possession of the country, but that they were the *bona fide* cultivators of its soil. Even as soldiers they never seemed to me to have been numerous. The Carthaginian armies were recruited in Gaul, that is, in France. The victories of the Thrasmene Lake, of Cannæ, and a hundred others over the Romans were decided chiefly by the Celtic men of ancient France. When driven back to Carthage, Hannibal could not induce the warlike French to follow him into Africa; and then the Carthaginians were easily defeated at Zama, on their own territory, when left to their own resources.

"But admitting that the Carthaginians did exist in Africa as cultivators of the soil, which is extremely doubtful, we must not forget the difference of race. The ancient Carthaginians, of whom we know so little positively, were an Asiatic people—Phœnician, no doubt—allied to the Jews. Now the Jews stand their ground very well in Algeria;

in their race the births exceed the deaths. *But they do not labor.*

“General Cavaignac, whose name stands so prominently before the world at the present moment, brought this question some years ago before his Government:—

“ ‘Avant tout, il faudroit savoir jusqu’à quel point l’Européen peut se naturalizer en Algerie. Jusque ici l’expérience est douteuse.’—(General Cavaignac, “De la Régence d’Alger,” p, 152.) ‘Above all, it is essential to know to what extent the European can become naturalized in Algeria. Hitherto experience is doubtful.’ ” 204—205.

“26. I here conclude this brief and hasty and imperfect sketch of the dark races. No one seems much to care for them. Their ultimate expulsion from all lands which the fair races can colonize seems almost certain. Within the tropics, climate comes to the rescue of those whom Nature made, and whom the white man strives to destroy; each race of white men after their own fashion: the Celt, by the sword; the Saxon, by conventions, treaties, parchment, law. The result is ever the same—the robbing the colored races of their lands and liberty. Thirty years ago a military *rhazia*, composed of English soldiers, Dutch boors, and native Hottentots, devastated the beautiful territory of the Amakoso Kaffirs. We reached the banks of the Kei, and the country of the noble Hinsas, where wandered the “wilde” of Nature’s creation. All must disappear shortly before the rude civilization

of the Saxon boor—antelope and hippopotamus, giraffe and Kaffir.” 210.

HISTORY OF THE CELTIC RACE.

“27. The Lowlands of Scotland not offering me the opportunity of observing the Caledonian Celt on his native soil, I visited, in 1814, the mountainous tract of Caledonia proper, the Grampians and their valleys. It was here I first saw the true Celt: time nor circumstances have not altered him from the remotest period. Here I first studied that character which I now know to be common to all the Celtic race, wherever found, give him what name you will—Frenchman, Irishman, Scottish Highlander, Welshman; under every circumstance he is precisely the same, unaltered and unalterable. Civilization but modifies, education effects little; his religious formula is the result of his race; his morals, actions, feelings, greatneses, and littlenesses, flow distinctly and surely from his physical structure; that structure which seems not to have altered since the commencement of recorded time. Why should it alter? But this great and oft-debated question I have discussed when considering the history of the Coptic, Jewish, and Gipsy races. The fact is sufficient for us here, that climate, nor time affect man, physically—morally. Let the history of the Gauls speak for itself.

“From the remotest period of historical narrative—usually called history—the abode of the Celtic race was Gaul on this side the Alps—the present country called France. This was the country

which Cæsar subdued and formed into a Roman province. But long prior to his time, the Celtic race had overflowed its barriers, crossing the Alps, peopling the north of Italy, and making permanent settlements there—the Gallia Cisalpina of Roman writers. They had sacked Rome; they had burst into Greece, and plundered the temple of Delphi. War and plunder, bloodshed and violence, in which the race delights, was their object. From Brennus to Napoleon, the war-cry of the Celtic race was, "To the Alps—to the Rhine!" This game, which still engages their whole attention, has now been played for nearly four thousand years. I do not blame them: I pretend not to censure any race: I merely state facts, either quite obvious, or borne out by history. War is the game for which the Celt is made. Herein is the forte of his physical and moral character; in stature and weight, as a race, inferior to the Saxon; limbs muscular and vigorous; torso and arms seldom attaining any very large development—hence the extreme rarity of athleteæ amongst the race; hands, broad; fingers, squared at the points; step, elastic and springy; in muscular energy and rapidity of action, surpassing all other European races. *Cæteris paribus*—that is, weight for weight, age for age, stature for stature—the strongest of men. His natural weapon is the sword, which he ought never to have abandoned for any other. Jealous on the point of honor, his self-respect is extreme; admitting of no practical jokes; an admirer of beauty of color, and beauty of form, and therefore a liberal patron of the fine arts. In-

ventive, imaginative, he leads the fashions all over the civilized world. Most new inventions and discoveries in the arts may be traced to him; they are then appropriated by the Saxon race, who apply them to useful purposes. His taste is excellent, though in no way equal to the Italian, and inferior, in some respects, to the Slavonian and peninsular races. The musical ear of the race is tolerably good; in literature and science, they follow method and order, and go up uniformly to a principle; in the ordinary affairs of life, they despise order, economy, cleanliness; of to-morrow they take no thought; regular labor—unremitting, steady, uniform, productive labor—they hold in absolute horror and contempt. Irascible, warm-hearted, full of deep sympathies, dreamers on the past, uncertain, treacherous, gallant and brave. They are not more courageous than other races, but they are more warlike. Notwithstanding their grievous defeat at Mont St. Jean, they are still the dominant race of the earth. On two great occasions they have saved Europe and the Saxon race from overwhelming destruction and worse than Negro slavery; twice have they stemmed the tide of savage Asiatic despotism as it pressed on Europe, threatening the final destruction of freedom: Attila they defeated; Charles Martel forced the Crescent to retire for ever from the West; the time seems approaching when the Celtic race may once more be called on to bring to the decision of the sword the oft-renewed contest, the oft-debated question—shall brute force, represented by the East, by Moscow, succeed in extin-

guishing in Europe the political influence of the Celtic and Saxon races? and will that influence blot out from the map of the world all hopes of the future civilization of mankind? A leading journal, whose object seems of late to be the misrepresenting all that is good in human motives and actions, speaks of "the combination of Eastern against Western Europe." Why mystify the question? By the selfish conduct of the German population, the apathy and timidity of the original Scandinavian nations, the brutal, treacherous, and cowardly Houses of Brandenburg and Hapsburgh have been allowed to butcher the noblest blood of ancient Germany; the Slavonian race has been outraged and insulted in Posen, Poland, and Bohemia, by the selfish, commercial, grasping Saxon; and, as a consequence, the entire race has been thrown into the hands of the Sarmatian or Muscovite. Why mystify questions so plain as these, foreseen and foretold years ago? But to return to the Celtic race.

"A despiser of the peaceful arts, of labor, of order, and of the law, it is fortunate for mankind that the Celtic race is, like the Saxon, broken up into fragments. The great and leading family of the race is in consolidated, united, all-powerful France. The Gallic Celt, is, if we may so say, the leading clan. Next, in point of numbers, is the Hibernian Celt; then the Cymbric, or Welsh; and lastly, the Caledonian. In the New World there are the Canadians, the Habitans, Celtic to the core, as when they first left France. In the free states of Northern America the Hibernian and Scoto-Celt abound.

Their numbers I do not know, but their increase for a time is certain. Change of government, change of climate, has not altered them. Children of the mist, even in the clear and broad sunshine of day, they dream of the past: nature's antiquaries. As looking on the darkening future, which they cannot, try not, to scan, by the banks of the noble Shannon, or listening to the wild roar of the ocean surf as it breaks on the Gizna Briggs, washing the Morochmore; or listlessly wandering by the dark and stormy coast of Dornoch, gaunt famine behind them, no hopes of to-morrow, cast loose from the miserable patch he held from his ancestry, the dreamy Celt, the seer of second sight, still clinging to the past, exclaims, at his parting moment from the horrid land of his birth, 'We'll maybe return to Lochaber no more.'

"And why should you return, miserable and wretched man, to the dark and filthy hovel you never sought to purify? to the scanty patch of ground on which you vegetated? Is this civilization? Was it for this that man was created? Chroniclers of events blame your religion; it is your race. Why cling to the patch of ground with such pertinacity? I will tell you: you have no self-confidence, no innate courage, to meet the forest or the desert; without a leader, you feel that you are lost. It is not the land you value as land, for you are the worst of agriculturists; but on this spot you think you may rest and have refuge. Now look at the self-confident Saxon; the man of *unbounded* self-esteem; an enormous boaster, but in

a way different from your race. Does he fear to quit the land of his birth? Not in the least; he cares for it not one straw. Landing in America, he becomes a real American—a Kentuckian, a Virginian, a furious democrat. In Oceanica he becomes a native Tasmanian, Australian; in Southern Africa he calls himself an Africaner. Holland and England are nothing to him; he has forgot for ever the land of his forefathers, and, for a consideration, will fight to the death with his own brethren. He has shaken off the pressure of the Three Estates, the Church and State incubus, and feels himself a free man. Then comes out his real nature—his go-ahead principles. See how he plunges into the forest; boldly ventures on the prairie; fears *no labor*—that is the point; loves that which you most abhor—profitable labor. What is to him a patch of ground? All the earth he is prepared to cultivate, and to sell to the highest bidder, so that it suits his purpose. You cling together in towns and hamlets; he, on the contrary, will not build a house within sight of his neighbor's if he can avoid doing so. With him all is order, wealth, comfort; with you reign disorder, riot, destruction, waste. How tender are the feelings of the Celtic woman—how soft and gentle is her nature! Her tears flow at every tale of distress: her children are in rags.

“On a subject so vast I must be extremely brief. The Celtic race presents the two extremes of what is called civilized man; in Paris we find the one; in Ireland, at Skibbereen, and Derrynane the other. Civilized man cannot sink lower than at Derrynane,

but civilized man may, perhaps, proceed higher even than in Paris. But of this I am not quite sure. Beer-drinking, smoky London, with its vaults and gin shops, its Vauxhalls and Cremornes, its single gay street, and splash of a short season, cannot be compared with Paris. As a race, the Celt has no literature, nor any printed books in his original language. Celtic Wales, Ireland, and Scotland are profoundly ignorant. There never was any Celtic literature, nor science, nor arts: these the modern French Celt has borrowed from the Roman and Greek.

“Of French literature I need say little; it is of the highest order, and, to a certain extent, peculiar to, or rather deeply influenced by, the race. Of their literature I may mention especially the *epopée*, which, though not peculiar to them, characterizes the race. The “Maid of Orleans,” by Voltaire, “Hudibras,” by Butler, “Don Quixote,” by Cervantes, describes the characters of their respective races. The first, refined, witty, alarmingly sacrilegious and licentious, is a type of the mind of the race, when set free from the trammels and usages of common life. The second, by Butler, no less depicts the Saxon. Coarse, brutal, filthy, but pithy; practical, utilitarian, abounding with common sense, and with that pleasant and comfortable feeling which measures the worth of all things, from a bishop’s office to a bale of cotton, by its value in money:

“For what’s the worth of anything,
But as much money as ’twill bring.”

"Paris is the centre of the fashionable, the civilized world; always in advance, in literature, science, and the fine arts. Their Academy has no equal anywhere, and never had. Even in ship building they transcend all other races; but they cannot man them; they are no sailors. In taste they can never sink to the low level of the Saxon race, whom it is almost impossible to maintain at even a respectable standard. Hence the efforts in Britain and elsewhere to educate, to found literary and philosophic societies, Mechanics' Institutes, Athenæums, Polytechnic Institutions. All these will gradually sink and disappear, to be replaced by others, in their time again to give place to others; for in their very constitution such institutions display in its highest perfection the besetting evil tendency of the Saxon mind: division, disunion, jobs. No dozen men can agree to form a liberal institution. In London, forty distinct societies do not supply the place of one Academy. There is no Polytechnic School in any Saxon kingdom; in Britain it would not be tolerated for a day. Court, gentry, clergy of all denominations, would combine to suppress it. It is otherwise in Celtic countries, where centralization and high education are not so much dreaded; yet even there the Polytechnic School has frequently proved a source of great anxiety to the government

"All over the world the Celtic race is, properly speaking, Catholic, even when not Roman; for France is thoroughly Roman Catholic; so is Ireland and Canada; in Wales and in Caledonia they

still hold their ground. The reformed Celts have never joined the churches "as by law established." It is the Saxon who accepts of his religion from the lawyers; the Celt will not. Accordingly, the Welsh and Caledonian Celt are strictly evangelical. All this display of true faith seems not to be inconsistent, or at least is not incompatible, with a laxity of morals which would astonish the world, if fairly described.

"The Celtic race has had in its hands more than any other its own destinies. Chance placed at their head the greatest of men that ever appeared on earth. Him they sold and betrayed. Still their power is terrible, and quite an overmatch for any other single race. Nothing could prevent them again marching to Moscow and Petersburg, were the contest to be merely between the two races. By such a contest mankind would be greatly benefited. Even as it is, France can no longer be assailed by any foreign force. Paris is fortified, and were the territory again polluted by a foreign foe, the true republican flag would be once more hoisted, sure to be pushed forward to Berlin and Vienna, Moscow and Petersburg. The horrible degradation of the Celtic population of Ireland may perhaps be best judged of by this one fact; that they are not aware of the existence of forty millions of *the same race* within two days' sail of their shores! Ignorance is a dreadful thing.

"It is amongst Celtic nations that terrible convulsions of necessity arise in respect of the property in land, arising from the erroneous nature of the

Celtic mind in respect of true liberty, freedom, equality; on all these points their ideas are innately and inherently vicious.

"No Saxon man admits, in his own mind, the right of any individual on earth, be he who he may, to appropriate to himself and to his family, whether to the eldest or any other son, any portion of the earth's surface to the exclusion *in perpetuo* of the rest of mankind; but, sensible that the earth must be cultivated by some one, which cultivation never can give any further right in the soil than the value imparted to it by the labor of the *ad vitam* occupant; treating it, in fact, as any other goods or chattels, he makes it liable for the debts of the occupant, and further ordains that at his death it shall be sold to the highest bidder, for the behoof of widow, children, and creditors, if any; the ultimate object being to restore the land to the community at large. If it be otherwise in many parts of England, it is because the government is not Saxon but Norman; that is, the government of a dynasty and aristocracy antagonistic of the race. Were the evil attaining any great magnitude, it would revolutionize England. But to revolutionize is Celtic; to reform, Saxon; and so, probably, with time, feudality and primogeniture, the two greatest curses that ever fell on man, may, at last, peaceably be driven from this semi-Saxon country. Still, I have some doubts of this. It is the last stronghold of the Norman dynasty and their defenders; and the question may yet, even in England, be decided by the sword. It was introduced, no doubt, into England chiefly by the

Norman conquest, the greatest calamity that ever befel England—perhaps, the human race.

“Now, contrast these Saxon ideas with the Celtic. From time immemorial the land belonged to the chief; the clan was entitled to live on it, it is true, but it did not in any shape belong to them. By degrees, nearly all the soil of France came into the possession of the crown and court, the clergy, the high aristocracy. A nation without land, became, of course, a nation of slaves. Then burst forth that mighty revolution which shook the world, whose effects must endure forever. Court, clergy, and gentry, were swept into the ocean. But did the Celt thereby put the land question on a right footing? Not in the least. He created merely another class of landed proprietors; an immense body of men of matchless ignorance and indolence, mostly sunk in hopeless poverty. He abolished the law of primogeniture, it is true, but he had not the soul to rise up to the principle of abstract justice. Restore the land to the community! Put it up for sale to the highest bidder! Divide the amount raised amongst your heirs! You have no more right to appropriate this piece of land to your family, to the exclusion of the rest of the nation, than had the ancient noblesse of France! But you have no individual self-reliance, and so you divide and subdivide, in the Irish cotter style, the bit patch of land left you by your forefathers, until your condition be scarcely superior to the hog who shares it with you: to sell the land; to divide the proceeds amongst the family; to accept of your share and

plunge boldly into the great game of life, is a step you dare not take. It is not that they are deficient in courage; no braver race exists on the globe; but you have no industry, no self-esteem, no confidence in your individual exertions." 212—222.

"28. In a work lately published, abounding with details, there is a full account of these races or remains of races, for they are now but vestiges: yet despite the centralizing power of Louis XIV., the irresistible edicts of Napoleon in their favor, and the spread, to a certain extent, of liberal notions, lurking prejudices still exist against even these vestiges, which time itself may fail to efface.*

"Physiologists and historians, statesmen and philanthropists, ecclesiastics of all denominations, generalizers of every shade, delight in speaking of the various European races of men as forming one great family. Like other great families, these races cannot be made to agree with each other. The closer, in fact, the pretended relationship may be, all the more are they disposed to quarrel and fight; to add to the confusion in this happy family, they speak totally different languages, which never approximate, but rather diverge, they happen also to differ in religion, customs, laws, manners, literature, art, science. Nor is this difference confined to the moral—it extends also to their physical structure; for countless centuries has the bold, erect, bulky, fair-haired, blue-eyed Scandinavian occupied the identical regions giving shelter and place to the dark, black-haired diminutive Finn, the Lapp—the

* "Histoire des Races Maudites de la France et de l'Espagne. Par Francisque Michel. Paris: 1847."

smallest of men—the Esthonian, the Livonian, the Slavonian, the yellow-bearded Muscovite; yet all these races remain to the full as distinct as they were long prior to the appearance of Cæsar on the Rhine. To these self-obvious, but not the less curious facts, the author, the title of whose work we have quoted above, adds others no less singular, no less worthy of inquiry. He shows that nationality, a thing conventional no doubt in itself, but of great importance in human affairs—nationality, so doated on by most men, so easily understood, the war-cry of crafty politicians, dynasties, and serfs—Michel shows that even nationality, though wielded by the most gigantic grasp the world ever witnessed, failed to extinguish in compact, national France, the hatred, the antipathies, the dislike of race to race. There is, there can be, nothing more wonderful in human history than this dislike of race to race: always known and admitted to exist, it has only of late assumed a threatening shape. Analyze the late revolutions of Europe, and you will find that in the first of the great struggles which must successively arise before the final emancipation of Europe from the tyrannic dynasties which now oppress, crush, and destroy the fairest portion of mankind, the question of race saved the dynasties for a time; the old war-cry of nationality was raised by the two contending powers, sure to terminate in favor of the dynasty.

“In this war of race against race, France stands pre-eminent; whilst shouting ‘Egalité, Fraternité!’ he violently extruded from his land a few hard-working English laborers: this was his first act, his

first practical demonstration of his notions of *égalité* and *fraternité*: his common sense, his sense of common justice to men, his education, his religion, all, all are arrayed in vain against the innate dislike of race to race." 222—224.

"29. Over Italy the leaden sceptre of Hapsburgh, the lineal and literal descendant of the Danubian Goth, waved ominously for man. Thus were crushed for centuries the most gifted of mankind. Then came the career of the mighty Napoleon, who first struck down these abhorred dynasties, showing their intrinsic weakness and rottenness. That they ever recovered was simply due to England. Next came the war of race, which must continue whilst race exists, and war confined to no particular region, but extended over the earth. It has been sometimes called a war for conscience' sake—a religious war; at other times it blushes not to own its commercial character and origin; and at times the cross has been raised, and the extermination of the heathen loudly demanded. But after all, the basis is difference in race, that key-stone to all human actions and human destinies." 234.

SOME REMARKS ON JEWISH CHRONOLOGY.

"30. SECTION I.—In drawing up this brief sketch of the history of these three remarkable races of men, the Copt, Jew, and Gipsies, my attention has been forcibly attracted to two points; first, to the absence of sound historical data in respect of all three; secondly, to the extraordinary proofs they offer of the incorrectness of that view which would

assign to an ideal family of men, called Caucasian, not merely those elements of mind which belong to other races, and which no one of these three seem ever to have possessed, but by a still grosser error, would ascribe to this ideal Caucasian race mental qualifications and physical structure excelling all others; superior to all; not to be surpassed. From these abstractions of Blumenbach, Prichard, and the English school, although they scarcely merit the name, have flowed other serious mistakes and incongruities, depriving the view of all title to the term philosophic; the singular spectacle of a wandering race living in the midst of civilization, of conventionalism, of restraint, yet refusing for centuries to recognize these adjuncts to humanity, preferring the life of the beasts of the field, has never been fairly met. Yet this, the Gipse, is called a Caucasian race, and by some thought to be beautiful and of the highest order. Another dispersed race, for it would seem I must not call them wanderers, remain dispersed for some thousand years: till not, fabricate nothing, create nothing, live in a seeming vision of the past, a host without a leader. Adopting in part the civilization of the surrounding races, they yet themselves have neither literature, science, nor art; nor wish to create them, nor power to invent them, nor ability to perform. Yet here is another of the said Caucasian family of Prichard; the oldest, as is said—the best—beaten by the rough energy of the rude Scandinavian. Loftiest of the Caucasian family! show me your doings, your labors. In energy and industry you are inferior to

the Negro; in muscular frame, mechanical skill, and accumulative power, overmatched by the Saxon; in taste and elegance, in war and peace, the Celt leaves you immeasurably behind; last and greatest, the Slavonian and South German, or Goth, transcend you in that very philosophy called transcendental, considered by many as the great peculiarity of your race. Yet Blumenbach, Prichard, and their followers, call you Caucasian!

“A third race, also called Caucasian, erect monuments of surpassing grandeur; attain seemingly the highest civilization at a period when the Scandinavian, Celtic, and Slavonian lay grovelling, and but little raised above the beasts of the field. Yet where are they now, these companions of Sesostri? Your Coptic civilization has passed away seemingly with the race; and so has the Arabic or Saracenic also with the races. A ruffianly mixed population of blacks and browns occupy your fields, to become extinct in time, as all mixed races must. But are your Copts of antiquity extinct? Here is a question for the physiologist; and if so, how came it to pass? Do races of men become extinct, like the beasts of the field?

“To this question I shall soon turn; but before discussing it, let me direct your attention to the present position and past history of the Jew.

“SECTION I. *The Jewish and Coptic Chronology.*

“The chronicle of the events which have happened to races, nations, and remarkable individuals, has been, with few exceptions, so imperfectly written

as to render human chronology nearly worthless. It solves no great questions in a complete manner. The monumental records themselves of Egypt, the most valuable and probably the most ancient, explain but little; each successive discovery adding ænigma to ænigma, doubt to doubt, merely. I have always, therefore, avoided, without, however, overlooking or despising, discussions on chronological questions, generally speaking, and excepting in a very few instances, I attach no importance to them; human history, whether recorded or monumental, I esteem but a drop in the ocean of time and of events. The greatest of all questions, in one sense, is no doubt a chronological one. Its adjustment would form a new æra in human history. Give us the precise date of the building of the Great Pyramid—the name of the dynasty of the period—the relation of the Egyptians of that period to the surrounding nations. Show us the exact condition of the Esquimaux, or yellow races of Africa, three thousand years ago. Nay, inform us rigorously of the nature of the race inhabiting South Britain when Cæsar landed. Give us any fixed starting point in history. But there is no such point; all is surmise and conjecture, contradiction and ænigma. No one could have felt this more than the celebrated historian Niebuhr. It was incomprehensible to him how ‘the Germans,’ as he called the middle and south Germans of his day, were dark-complexioned men, with dark hair and eyes: whilst in the time of Marius, of Livy, and of Tacitus, *the Germans* were a fair-haired, blue-eyed race. Niebuhr neglected

the element of race, and hence his difficulty. The present or modern south German does not belong to the race described in classic Roman history; they are *not Scandinavians or true Germans, and never were a fair race.*

“Long prior to the appearance in an English dress of the immortal historian’s works, I had arrived, after much anxious thought, at the conclusion that Jewish chronology was worthless; that Coptic written history could not be trusted; and that Coptic monumental history—the most valuable, I admit, existing—with its inexhaustible but mysterious hieroglyphics, had added hitherto no substantial, no decisive fact to human history, saving one, that civilization, and arts, and mankind generally, were of a much more ancient date than was generally supposed.

“These opinions I have always expressed cautiously before public audiences, knowing the deep prejudices existing throughout Europe generally on all these questions, and the determination of the mass, not merely of theologians, but of the world generally, to assign a historic character to the Mosaic record, and to take for a chronological history of mankind that history, which if complete and understood, would no doubt have explained all things, but which, as it now stands, is no more a history than it is a work of science.

“My present remarks will be very brief. Literary men and theologians dispute for victory: I aim merely at truth. To me it is a matter of the most perfect indifference whether the Jews ever were in

the land we call Egypt, or not. The Rev. Mr. Beke, who, I believe, is an orthodox divine, says that they never lived in the land we call Egypt, but in the now wild and desolate region between the River of Egypt (which I need not say is not the Nile) and Syria. Be it so; I leave this matter entirely to theologians. Let me return to the history of the Jew and the Copt, adhering strictly to what has a reference to the element of race.

“Niebuhr observes, in a note to the first edition of his great work, that the chronology of the Jews of the Mosaic record is beneath all notice, and merits merely contempt. These too strong expressions theologians have generally and prudently overlooked, contenting themselves, I think, with expunging the exceptionable passages from subsequent editions. Dr. Arnold, whose works are a mere copy of Niebuhr's takes no notice, I think, of these and similar passages. Bishop Usher's views on chronology have been stereotyped in England by clergy and laity. In Catholic countries there is no occasion to reconcile any contradictions, however monstrous: the church is infallible. To minds so constituted, a difference amounting to a trifling sixteen hundred years or so is nothing. To such minds, truth in history is of no value; science they detest; all scientific men they place in one category.

“I may hereafter discuss the influence which discoveries in physical science have exercised over chronology. My present object is with the *versification* of certain events connected with Jewish and

Coptic history, keeping ever in view the question of race.

“It is and always has been the practice of every race and nation, whose intellectual faculties were sufficiently elevated, to connect their history with the origin of all time, and, under one denomination or another, to identify themselves with the great creative Power. This practice seems not to have been confined to the fair races exclusively; for the Chinese, Mongolians by race, Japanese, Hindoo, Copt, are all more or less dark-colored races, have, notwithstanding this, traced their origin to the gods, and their priests made ‘common cause’ with the Creator of all things. This practice prevailed to such an extent, becoming so deep-rooted in human minds, that to this day stealing from a building called a church is termed sacrilege, as if any one building made by human hands could be more sacred than any other; and millions of educated and superior men still think it necessary that some mummary be repeated over a portion of the earth’s surface before that earth can be fit to receive those frail and rotten remains, which mythology and philosophy alike inform us, sprung originally from it.

“Whilst the human mind remains in this degraded condition, truth is not wanted. Millions and millions of brave men, Romans, believed that a priest did divide a whetstone with a razor. The same race (Italian) have superstitions still more numerous, offensive, and degrading to humanity. They believe in the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius, and in the efficacy of ‘the red tunic.’ We

hear kind-hearted men speak of the progress of mankind! What progress do they mean?

"The Jews are said to be descended from one family, one man: I speak of the so-called historic period. This expression is really devoid of any meaning; for his descendants returned on all and every occasion to Chaldea, if he was really a Chaldean, for wives from other families of the race. Lot, not a remarkably over-scrupulous or tight-laced man, was his kinsman—I think his brother. His heir-male of entail lived in Damascus. Nineteen hundred years, then, before our æra, there was a town, a city at Damascus; the Syrian plains were fully occupied—so also, no doubt, was Lebanon. Thus mingling with a section of the Chaldean or Babylonish race, the Jews progressed in numbers and wealth: the Abrahamidæ were a section of a wandering race who had already wandered into Syria before the appearance of Abraham in that country—wanderers over the earth from the earliest records to the present day; a scattered race by the nature of their instincts.

"The race whence the Abrahamidæ sprung was left somewhere in Chaldea: travellers ought to find them there to this day. They are the origin of the race of Israel—the original stock; the purest blood must be there, and also the most numerous tribe; for the offset which wandered into Egypt was a branch, sure to perish but for fusion with other races. This accordingly happened; and in Egypt the race assumed that Coptic physiognomy and *form*, unalterably stamped on the family, now visi-

ble everywhere, under all climates, under all circumstances. As the modern Jew, then, is chiefly Egyptian, a question arises as to the real character of the primitive race, their physiognomy, and form, and mental disposition. This, I think, must be sought for in Chaldea, from whence we are told they came. It is a subject worthy the inquiry of a Lepsius or a Humboldt.

“The race, now remodelled, leave Egypt with a view to the extermination of the Syrian inhabitants of the country, the utter extermination of the race or races of Palestine, and the substitution of themselves for all others. Their utter failure was complete; but still not more so than that of all other races under similar circumstances. That they should fail in the extermination of another race; that, after the lapse of many centuries, they should find themselves in their first position, scattered over the earth, few in number, without a rallying point, has nothing in it wonderful. Equally so is their distinctness from all other races: I have shown the fusion of race, or amalgamation of races, to be a theory refuted by all history.

“In briefly reviewing these two great facts, let me supply the physical evidence deduced from the theory of race to which I venture to lay claim. 1st., By his nature, the Jew, or Chaldee is a wanderer over the earth; like the Gipseys, whom he greatly resembles, he has no settled home; the restoration of Palestine to the Jew would not in the least degree render the Jew less a wanderer. From Chaldea he wandered into Egypt; from Egypt again to Pales-

tine. Famine could not have been the sole cause of this; a pastoral people, as they are stated to have been at the time, could suffer nothing by a scarcity of grain. If all the wheat in South Africa were destroyed for seven years, the people would not suffer in the least, so long as pasture remained sufficient for their flocks and herds. The inhabitants of South America live on animal food, caring nothing for grain. 2d., Originally Chaldee, they acquired the Coptic cast of features in Egypt: this was quite natural. In Persia they got Persian blood; in other countries they received from time to time accessions of foreign blood; hence their numbers, which would otherwise dwindle away to a mere handful, are partly maintained. But the leading part of the Jewish physiognomy naturally remains. That physiognomy was probably Chaldee; it differed somewhat from the Copt, who caricatured it on his monuments. 3d., Phœnician or Syrian blood mingled largely with the original race; even their capital, Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Jebusites. David's conquest was merely nominal, or at least a compromise with the original inhabitants of the city of Jebus.

"That they should have failed in exterminating the Syrian race or races, and taking their place, is simply what has happened to all other races. The Turkish empire withers and declines, as I have shown elsewhere, from the same causes: its population is becoming extinct; the country will return into the possession of its original inhabitants, whoever they were. Ireland, Caledonia, are even yet in

the hands of the Celtic race—hence their terrible condition. Charlemagne and his bold Franks have ceased to live—France is Celtic to the core. It is the same all over the world. Why should the Jews form an exception to nature's great law? South England is far from being Saxon; neither Holland nor Flanders show much Spanish blood; the South German has made little or no progress against the Slavonian and Hunnish races; and a mere accident prevented these two races from again crushing the German as they had done before. Their want of union saved the dynasty of Hapsburgh.

“I find it difficult to obtain from the literary man, theological or otherwise, a clear statement as to his views on another point of Jewish history; some maintaining the doctrine, 1st., That, under all climates the Jew continues the same; or, 2dly., That he differs under every climate, but remains steady to his race. Both opinions cannot be true; nevertheless they are alternately maintained by the same class of writers. The relation of the Arab to the Jew is not merely doubtful, but it does not exist: I speak of them as races.

“In the successive devastations of Syria by various conquering people, from the Persian to the Turk, the Jews were not the only race who suffered; all must have suffered equally. But these races, being aboriginal, recovered their population: the Jew, a foreigner, did not

“The story of the Jew, as told by himself, is a plain and simple story enough: in the hands of the writers of other races it becomes a rhapsody. That

of the Copt is really wonderful; their monumental history surpasses all on earth besides. The Jew has no monumental history. He never had any literature, science, or art: he has none yet. 'Their completeness and wonderfully preserved individuality' has nothing in it in the slightest degree curious. All other races are in precisely the same position; and, in this respect, also, the Gipsy is superior to them.

"It is admitted that the Jews have no rural population at present in Judea: it seems to me that they never had a rural population anywhere. In all Syria they are supposed to amount to thirty thousand.

"But I admit it to be singular enough that they should still maintain their handful of a population on the earth; explicable only on the ground of the race receiving occasionally supplies of fresh blood from other sources. A recent traveller informs us that the Jews do not multiply 'in the capital of their race;' the writer should have said, 'in the city of Jebus,' which was not their native city, but one which they had long occupied in common with the aboriginal inhabitants. This correction of an otherwise important passage is essential to truth and science. 'Jew children,' it is added, 'seldom attain to puberty; and the mortality is altogether so great that the constant reinforcements from Europe scarcely maintain the average population.' I submit these curious facts without comment to the scientific reader.

"When I first delivered these lectures, orally, to

the public, the investigations of Bunsen and Lepsius had not appeared. Nor yet have I had an opportunity of perusing their works. But, from various scattered notices, I believe that nothing has been made out to invalidate my first impressions in regard to Coptic history. The opinion I had formed was unfavorable to the accuracy of Herodotus; and this view is now, I believe, admitted to be the correct one. It was from the Coptic monumental history that Cuvier drew the result, that no animal had sensibly altered its character; that no ancient species had been metamorphosed; no new species had arisen since the historic period—that period being as yet undetermined, but marked by records respecting which there could be no mistake. The illustrious anatomist forgot to mention man—forgot to include him in the list of unchanged and seemingly unchangeable species of animals: I add him now; requesting my reader to remember that the term ‘historic period’ denotes a mere speck in the ocean of time. The persistence of species can be admitted now as extending merely through limited periods of time; the discoveries of De Blainville seem likely to settle this great question. There has been, there can only be ‘one creation;’ all successive forms must proceed from others preceding them. Life on the globe is but one, not many. Forms vary agreeably to the eternal laws of development regulating these forms. They appear in succession, but they are still one. To living forms there can be no limit, saving ‘the essential conditions of their existence.’

“Coptic chronology is still to write; the hiero-

glyphics have taught little or nothing—the explanations hitherto offered are extremely doubtful.” 254—264.

“SECTION I.—*Origin, Civilization, Extinction of the Dark Races of Men.*

“31. In the history of the Jewish, Coptic, and Gipsey races, the great question of the extinction of race has been considered. These races, placed by theorists with the so-called Caucasian race, and at the head of the Caucasian family, I consider as belonging to the dark races of men. They are African and Asiatic, not European. The purest of the Jewish race is a dark, tawny, yellow colored person, with jet black hair, and eyes seemingly colored: there is no mistaking the race when pure: it is Egyptian—that is, African. The same remarks apply to the gipsey, who is of Asiatic origin. A series of incorrect observations, commencing with Blumenbach, but not terminating with Prichard, led to errors which no doubt will hold their ground for centuries. For this reason I have, in a preceding lecture, reviewed the history of these three races, the Copt, the Gipsey, and the Jew, and in so doing, briefly examined the question of the extinction of race, as applicable to all. Of the destiny of the dark races it is not my intention to say much. Originating from the same stock with their fellow men of all colors; formed into distinct groups by the laws of development, obeying geological æras; these groups or natural families preserve, as in the case of all other animals, their specific forms and mental

qualities, for at least a term of years which history does not yet enable us to determine, but of sufficient duration to convey to the limited mind of man the idea of eternal. Thus it was that Cuvier, assuming the brief span of man's written history, and of man's pictorial history, as shown on the monuments of Egypt, to be the beginning and end of man's history, leaped to the conclusion that animals (he avoided speaking of man *on this point*,) had not altered their forms in *the slightest degree* since the historic period commenced; as if that historic period were anything but a day in the history of the globe, and of life. Thus it was that his followers, denying the slightest change to any other animal for thousands of years, though exposed in every possible way to climatic influences, claimed for man the privilege of everlasting change, though protected from these influences by his inventive genius, mental faculties, and powers of combination; of changes in form and exterior, so great that in any other animal they would of necessity form groups which science could not permit to be confounded with each other.

“And now, inquiry shows us, that these groups of the darker races of men I have just spoken of, touch, by diverging rings, all other races; showing the deep affiliations depending on the unity of human life—of all life: of the great laws of unity of organization, suspended merely for a time by those specific laws which give to life its forms and order in space and time. By the Central American they seemed to have touched the ancient Euxine race

described by Hippocrates; by the Hottentot and Bosjeman they touch the Mongol and Tartar; by the Nubian and Abyssinian they approached the Copt and Jew; and through them, Asiatic, Greek, Syrians, Armenians. Furthest removed by nature from the Saxon race, the antipathy between these races is greater than between any other: in each other they perceive their direct antagonists. The wild and savage South African; the Tasmanian, the uncultivated Negro, merely feel the instinct; the semi-civilized Chinaman, Malay, Negro, Affghan, both feel and understand the results. The mandarin sees, in a contest with a Saxon race, the extinction of his own; he acts accordingly. Could he be taught; could he read and understand the rise and progress of the Anglo-Saxon in America, then war to the knife would be the first and last words of a Chinaman, a Kaffre, a Red Indian, a New Zealander. But they cannot be taught: history has no examples for them. Animals of to-day, they look not for a to-morrow; the present is theirs. Destined by the nature of their race to run, like all other animals, a certain limited course of existence, it matters little how their extinction is brought about. Starting from a stronger stock at first; fresh and energetic, like the young oak, their forms of civilization, peculiar, of course, to themselves, preceded that of their fairer brethren. This is at least my present opinion, from historic data, I admit, of doubtful authority. In their progress, each group showed its own tendencies towards the civilized, or rather towards the human condition; towards a

show, at least, of humanity, and the decencies and order of human existence. The Central Asiatic race, the Mongol, the Tartar, when pure, revelled in tents and arms; plunder and the pomp of war was their whole aim. The other group, the Chinaman, proceeded somewhat further, his tendencies were domestic and trading: his taste for pagodas and lanterns is characteristic; his notions of beauty of form peculiar; in all things peculiar; in architecture, literature, fine (?) arts, peculiar; and having carried out his destiny, attained the maximum of his civilization, and being unequal to the full adoption of any other, he progresses not, standing on the verge of that destruction awaiting him, when Saxon and Sarmatian will contend with each other for the plunder of Nangasaki and Pekin, with high hopes, no doubt, of supplanting the Asiatic race, or at the least, of converting China and Japan into another Hindostan. This I doubt; not the attempt, but the result. But to this, also, I have already devoted a few remarks.

“On the American continent, the central group of the aboriginal colored races was running their narrow course when the Celt-Iberian and Lusitanian races burst in upon them; upsetting their idols and temples; their pyramids and obelisks; as the semi-barbarous Saxon, and Celt, and Goth burst on Rome; with the same results; the substitution of one form of civilization for another; of one race for another; none to hold their ground, but all to dwindle into a mere shadow. Look at modern Rome and modern Mexico; Jerusalem as it is, and as it

was; Babylon as it is, and as it was; Karnac; Egyptian Thebes with its hundred gates; immortal.

“The Southern Asiatic also had his day; his rise and fall. In ancient times he built structures in Hindostan, which his pitiful descendants look at with awe and wonder, but attempt neither to repair nor renew. In Central Africa the true black or Negro race seems to have attained his ultimatum centuries ago. He has his own form of civilization, but, unfortunately, it includes neither literature, art, nor science. Yet he is industrious, good tempered, energetic, accumulative, a lover of order and of finery; a fatalist, and a worshipper of Fetiches. The stronger headed men of his race dispense with their respect for the Fetisch, as Aristides and Cæsar did with the heathen gods of Rome, leaving all such frivolities to the ‘rascal multitude.’ Yet from that mass they spring, and to it they return. When the race attempts the civilization of another, Celtic or Saxon, for example, the whole affair becomes a ludicrous farce, and even grave men laugh at it. The after-piece is being played in St. Domingo, where they have elected a black emperor! In Liberia they will elect a sham president. It can come to nothing in either case. Each race must act for itself, and work out its own destiny; display its own tendencies; be the maker of its own fortunes, be they good or evil. A foreign civilization they cannot adopt, calling it national, native; but the imposture, like all impostures, becomes manifest in time, whether practised by the Negro or the Saxon. They elect a president in Hayti; in recollection of

Napoleon ; he declares himself emperor ; standing in the same relation to that name which the oran-outan does to the Apollo. He even sets an example to the President of the backward republic of Celtic-Gaul ; See, he says, how forward *we are*. He founds a dynasty ; black Thiers and swarthy Guizots cluster around to establish the dynasty and maintain the 'juste milieu ;' they spout philosophy, and praise the virtues of the reigning dynasty ; the majesty of the law ; the divine rights of kings and emperors ; the sacred rights of property and privilege, however acquired. The whole is a farce when acted in Hayti ; a melo-drame with tragic episodes when Gaul is the stage ; and so it is ever with the most skilful and able of impostors, that is, imitators ; sooner or later the trick comes out. A noble mind builds St. Paul's ! a copy, it is true ; and an imitation of a greater ; but a noble imitation, satisfying all minds. The thing is vaunted as national ! native ! straightway, as if to unmask the imposture, a certain building appears in Trafalgar square ; a hideous bronze or two show themselves about Hyde-park ; natives, no doubt ; quite original. But I forget that my present chapter is on the dark races, or rather the darker groups of the dark or colored races. I have already spoken of their affiliated races, the Gipsy, Copt, and Jew ; and of that race which far excelled all others,—the ancient Greek.

"I have sometimes thought, that even the yellow race of Africa, the degraded Hottentot and Bosje-man, the Quaquoos and the Antinquas, must have had their æra ; their attempt at civilization and its

failure; instead of being a recent oppressed race, they are perhaps a most ancient and fallen race; fallen, never to rise again, not merely by having come into contact with more powerful races, but simply as a result of the history of development and progress. In ancient times the race seems to have extended throughout all Africa; I have alluded to this in my history of the Troglodytes of Homer: the desert or dry places of the earth seem always to have been their dwelling place. Where placed near stronger races, they would imitate their civilization in as far as their physical organization admitted; just as the Hottentot of the Cape does, or would do if left to himself. The towns he would build would not be strictly European towns, but clusters of mud closets, raised on each other, should necessity, that is, a want of room, or a common danger, compel them to live huddled together in groups. They would occupy, in a half-civilized condition, some insulated hill or rock, driving their flocks and herds to the plains during the day time, and retiring to their fastnesses on the approach of night, or of an enemy, thus leading a dreamy, dreary, life, 'flat, stale, and unprofitable.' The history of a day is the history of their lives. Such were the Namaquas when first visited and described by Kolben and Le Vaillant, bating the fastnesses and densely populated hill town, to which no necessity had ever given rise. Gradually diminishing and fading away, prior even to the advent of the Saxon Boor in Southern Africa, they seem to have never attained any higher condition of civilization there: but could

we suppose for an instant, that the peculiar and almost indescribable race of men whom Mr. St. John found in the Oases of Northern Africa, and especially in that of Jupiter Ammon, are the descendants of the Troglodytes of Homer, then we have a solution of the question as regards the yellow race or races of Africa. In Northern Africa they had attained their highest element of civilization possibly even before Egyptian Thebes was built; or wandering over the deserts, they imitated, in their own fashion, the doings of stronger races; built their hovels on a hill, and for self-defence lived together. But they had run their course before Carthage appeared; then came the Roman, disposessing, as to power, Juba and Masanissa; then the Saracen and the Moor; they too, sink before the climate and the returning dark races; returning to the land from which they were often expelled; themselves gradually fading away, to be replaced by the *wilde* and the desert, perhaps the ocean. The Arab and the Turkoman supplanted the Copt in Egypt; but will they hold their ground? observing travellers seem to think that they cannot; the Coptic face is still to be seen on the banks of the Nile; the Negro gives ground; the desert also progresses; and thus may the motley population of Egypt perish, failing to represent its ancient inhabitants.

“ If there be a dark race destined to contend with the fair races of men for a portion of the earth, given to man as an inheritance, it is the Negro. The tropical regions of the earth seem peculiarly to belong to him; his energy is considerable: aided by a tro-

pical sun he repels the white invader. From St. Domingo he drove out the Celt; from Jamaica he will expel the Saxon; and the expulsion of the Lusitanian from Brazil, by the Negro, is merely an affair of time.

“SECTION II.—*The Antagonism of Man to Nature's Works.*

“The citizen—the man of to-day—the formulist—the being whose mind has been clept and fashioned from its earliest dawn, as his garments; forced to adopt the ‘spirit of his times,’ taught to talk largely of the rapid progress of man—of his civilization, meaning the form which society has assumed in the warren-looking row of dwellings, in No. 4, or 6, of which he is for a brief space located; to this trammelled and harnessed animal, ‘the wilde’ is a mere plaything, an unintelligible freak of creation. Having no occasion for thought, it occupies no part of his attention; and should so idle a question arise in his mind as ‘the object of its creation,’ his remaining special and specific instincts which the artificial existence he chooses to call ‘civilization’ has failed quite to extinguish, teach him that to it his nature is antagonistic. Thus be he savage or boor, citizen or man, colored or fair, war to the knife is the cry with Nature’s Fauna and Nature’s Flora; destroy and live, spare and perish, is the stern law of man’s destiny. Whence this antagonism? and why? To the profound philosophers of the Bridge-water school, to the sturdy Utilitarian, the dogmatic Jew, to the man of happy self-conceit, who in all

things sees two sides of a question, of which the one of his adoption must be the best, who thinks that two and two make four, or five, or one, according as the matter is viewed ; who sees in the enormous destruction and seeming waste of life—of early infant life—innocent, pale-faced, sweet, and beauteous youth, struck at by stern, remorseless, pitiless death, ‘a wise dispensation of Providence for the multiplying of pleasure :’ to him, or to them, for they are a school, I leave the jesuitical task of discovering in physical and moral suffering a benefit and a pleasure, and proceed, disclaiming all knowledge of ‘the why’ and ‘the wherefore,’ pretending not to an initiation into the mysterious ways of the Creative Power—its intentions, its plans, its views, its theory—but merely to inquire into the reality of the fact and its consequences.

“That animal and vegetable life is produced in an abundance exceeding all belief ; that a half, at least, of everything born, perishes from unknown causes when young ; that another section or division afterwards perish, being destined as food for others ; that man himself, an animal mortal and frail like others, is included to the full in this stern category ; that there would even seem for him a worse fate than for the others, is simply a fact undeniable, explain it, as you may. Mental and bodily diseases of all hues, harassing pestilence and famine ; wars of opinion ! war to the knife ! promising utter destruction and final extermination to those who prefer the evidence of sense to the erring reason of man, stupidly maintaining that bread is not flesh, and

that wine cannot be turned into blood until digested and assimilated. Man's fate, then, is severer than that of the lower animals; they have no aristocracy, no priests, no kings; they are spared this triple curse; nor can a dark and fearful future be depicted on their brains, in terms so strong as to make them believe that millions of invisible beings walk the lower regions of the atmosphere, wholly occupied in leading him to destruction.

“Whatever, then, be the cause, life is produced on the globe in extravagant and unintelligible abundance—life clothed in forms, some simple, others more complex. To this life, as produced by nature, clothed with the forms necessitated by development in time, or by time (for this has not yet been fully resolved) man, also a part of Nature's plan, else he could not be present, is the perpetual antagonist. Against the floral and faunal *wilde* he carries on perpetual war; if civilized, even the natural herbage does not escape him; for it he substitutes an artificial crop. His domestic animals, as he calls them, seem never to have been really wild. They are not, nor ever were found in a natural state; it is the same with vegetable productions; his destiny is, multiply sheep and oxen, and wheat, and cabbages, until the earth be filled therewith; to extrude and destroy, if he can, all that is wonderful and beautiful on the globe as it came from Nature's hands. In dealing with this astounding, yet certain truth, let us be cautious how we apply the word man. Are all the races of men antagonistic of Nature's work? Probably they are, but differ in this

antagonistic power immeasurably from each other ; nor is it improbable that, with certain races, the amount of antagonism would in no conceivable period of time have reached the point of extermination. But for the rifle, the American bison might for thousands of years have maintained his ground against the feebly armed Indian ; the grizzly bear might have become in time the assailant ; the wolf have forced the copper-colored Indian to fortify his camp against a midnight attack ; and the jaguar and alligator and boa reigned masters of the wooded banks of the Maranon and Oronoco. I know not of any means possessed by the Circumpolar races for the extermination of the seal and walrus, the polar bear, the whale ; no powers of combination, no powers of invention equal to the task. For how many ages to come might not the ponderous elephant and unwieldy hippopotamus have grazed by the banks of the remote Kei, or harmlessly gambolled in the Keis Kamma or Gariepine streams ? For how many centuries yet to come, but for the interposition of the Saxon and the rifle, might not the stately giraffe, with the gazelle eye, have adorned the southern edge of the Calihari, by your beauteous reaches, clear and crystal Gariep ? Who shall say ? The wild man was obviously unequal to their destruction ; even the baboon he dared not attack in troops ; the buffalo and the rhinoceros he could scarcely encounter under any circumstances ; and, in despite of Bosjeman and Hottentot, and Kaffir, the lion stalked at mid-day on the open plains. This have I seen whilst wandering in South Africa, traversing slowly

the Bosjeman land, or wistfully gazing over that beauteous field, looking from the Koonap eastward, then calm and peaceful, now marked by scenes of pillage, plunder, and relentless massacre. On this field the naked savage met the disciplined savage, the semi-barbarian met nature's man.

"In my early days, and whilst still a youth, a friend placed in my hands five enchanting volumes, full of nature, and of truth, 'The Adventures of Le Vaillant.' Ten years afterwards I stood on the spot where, crossing the Groote Visch Rivière, he ascended the slope leading to the undulating Table-land, through which the Koonap and Chumie, the Keis-Kamma, and many other streams make their way, directly, or indirectly, to join the Indian Ocean. Wandering alone on the afternoon of a bright sunshiny day, such a day as can be seen only in Southern Africa, and ascending the long and gentle slope, thus reaching the level of the grassy plains stretching eastward towards the Koonap, the neutral ground lay before me. To the north and east might be traced the wooded range of the Kaha and Anatola mountain range, part and parcel of the lofty Winterbergen; and as I stood musing on the scene before me, the past and the future rose on my imagination like a dream. What was the living scene before me? Nature in all her wondrous beauty and variety; the dark-eyed antelope, of nearly all varieties, covered the plain; in the distance, stalked slowly the majestic ostrich; over head soared, silent and sad, the vulture; bustards of all sizes; harmless, peaceful, grain and insect-loving animals; the zebra

and the quagga; the acacia, the strelitzia, the evergreens, the pasture and the bush, planted by nature; the field which plough or spade had never turned up, on which the cerealia had never been grown. And what is this scene to me, I said? Beautiful though it be, where is man? It seemed, in my sight, a vast stage, decorated, picturesque, lovely, but the actors were wanting; it was a panorama, a picture—a living picture, yet desert and without that life to which man ever looks. But now the glass discovers on the wooded slopes of the Chumie mountains the curling smoke, telling of the presence of man. Now who is the man who watches that fire? It is the savage Bosjeman, or still fiercer Kaffir; the race looked for by Le Vaillant many years before, from the same spot on which I now stood. Nature, then, had stood its ground in that lapse of time; she had remained seemingly unaltered for countless ages up to the moment I then noted her; Why should not this continue? I will tell you: a new element had appeared, the Dutch-Saxon and the Anglo-Saxon were now hanging on the skirts of the old African world. A new element of mind had appeared, about to create a new South African æra: the Saxon or Celtic element, bringing with it the semi-civilized notions of Europe—the power of combinations, fire-arms, discipline, laws. Before this new element, antagonistic of nature, her works are doomed to destruction, in as far as man can destroy. The wild acacia he wastes as firewood; the Chumie forests he utterly destroys, converting the timbers thereof into rafters for barracks

and other hovels, for men to congregate in like pigs. Over nature's pastures, over the iris, bulbous plants of surpassing beauty, over the strelitzia, and a thousand other wild flowers, he passes the ruthless plough. The antelope is exterminated or disappears; the zebra, the gnou, the ostrich, the bustard, escape from the land, or are shot down; the mighty onslaught of an antagonistic element, seemingly too strong for nature, defeats even the rhinoceros, the elephant, the lion, so that their skins are become rare, so rare as to be prized for European museums. Last comes man himself—the colored man—the man placed there by nature; he also must of necessity give way; his destiny apparently is sealed, and extinction in presence of a stronger race seems inevitable. The yellow race, the feeble, will naturally yield first; then the Kaffir—he also must yield to the Saxon Boor, on whose side is right, that is, might; for, humanly speaking, might is the sole right. Retiring northwards towards the Calihari, and perhaps crossing it, he and the *wilde* with him may gain Central Africa, and so escape for a time the destruction threatening them. But is this destruction certain? In front of the Saxon Boor stands the desert; that he cannot conquer. As he advances northward and eastward, he encounters the tropical line, within which generally he cannot live. Thus, after all, his dominion may be limited to Southern extra-tropical Africa; nor is it quite certain that he may always stand his ground in that healthiest of all countries. He has not yet *labored* there as a cultivator: he has not yet been left to his

own resources. But this question I have already discussed—I mean the destruction of one race by another, and the substitution of one race by another. Man's gift is to destroy, not to create; he cannot even produce and maintain a new and permanent variety of a barn-door fowl, of a pheasant, of a sheep or horse. This, then, is the antagonism of man, of certain races of men, to nature's works—of those races, at least, in whose minds civilization forms a natural element—natural or acquired; of men educable and progressive, at least to a certain point. With other races it seems different. That the Saxon and Celtic races may maintain their ground in Southern Africa is possible, but not proved. The history of man, as I have already shown, is against the theory, which indeed is mainly maintained by the arrogance and self-sufficiency of the race. But this great question I have already discussed: let me therefore conclude by rapidly surveying the opposing obstacles to the identification of the Saxon and Celtic races with the soil of Southern Africa.

“There is first the Kalihari or Southern Sahara; the Karoo, not yet cultivated; the labor question he has not yet met; to the northward, the tropic, he dare not enter as a cultivator; the dark and more numerous races he must there encounter. To these the Saxon bears an eternal, deep-rooted hatred; but not so other races—the Celt, for example, and the Celt-Iberian. As he proceeds towards Central and Eastern Africa, he will encounter the Arab and the Moor: by these he has hitherto been kept in check. But it is the tropic which must protect the dark

racés ultimately against the antagonism of the fair. With the *wilde* it is otherwise. There man may destroy—this is, indeed, his aim—progressing onward, as he thinks, when the earth shall support only oxen, and sheep, and cabbages, and man, and Saxons, of course; adopting the theory that the Saxon race is the highest development. Pleasant theory! So would have reasoned the saurians, could they have reasoned—the sivatherium and the dinotherium! Contemplating their gigantic, and, it may be, splendid forms, with the great and sublime around him: tortoises that might sustain an elephant on their backs; bears the size of horses; tigers and oxen of gigantic stature, and robes at least as beautiful as those of the present day; was it not natural for the man of that day, as no doubt there was such a man, to have said to himself, ‘This is the last development, the highest effort of nature! She can produce nothing more sublime than the world now before me!’ But now the aim of the Saxon man is the extermination of the dark races of men—the aborigines—the men of the desert and of the forest. I have shown you the obstacles to his progress—the forest, the growing desert, the overwhelming sands of the sea-shore; the terrible results of the earthquakes and of volcanoes; the subsidence of land under the ocean; the advance of the bog and the heath. These affect all races, more or less; so does climate—more powerful than all—the present climate of the earth as it is known to us. Extend the phrase climate to times past, and to times to come; ask yourselves what climatic changes destroyed the

mammoth, the aneploterium, the dinotherium, the sivatherium? the fishes of the ancient world? the saurians? Man destroyed them not; yet their race is run. Why dies out, almost before our eyes, the apteryx? The Irish elk, the gigantic fossil ox, the dodo, have not long ceased to exist. The destroying angel walks abroad unseen, striking even at the races of men. But nature dies not; ever young; ever returning; ever reviving; she is eternal. The form is immaterial; the essence is the same; first and last." 300—314.

NOTES.

NATIONALITY *versus* RACE.

"1. In despite of the lesson taught the Saxon race by the United States of America, a lesson without a parallel in the world, the Norman government of England persists in the same colonial policy which caused her the loss of America. Whilst I now write there is a scheme to found a *British colony*, with true *British* feelings, in New Zealand. It is to be called New Canterbury. Nothing can teach certain men. The promoters fancy that they can alter human nature; the Saxon nature: that *British feelings* or *nationality* is to prevail over the eternal qualities of race. So little do they seem to know of human nature, that they fancy it possible to extend British nationality to the descendants of a race, coming from England, no doubt, but born and brought up in New Zealand. They actually deny to the Saxon his greatest quality, self-esteem, self-dependence. Scarcely will *these*

New Zealanders have seen the fourth or fifth generation, before they will set Britain, with all its mock institutions, at defiance. They are Saxon men; that is, democrats, by their nature; and they will throw off the Norman rule the instant they can. They did this in the United States; the Cape will follow next; then Australia. Looking at the present condition of Britain, it were grievous to think otherwise."

"2. About fifteen years ago, the Prussian system of education, as it was called, came into notice in England. Interested greatly in everything pertaining to the education of man, I carefully weighed its probable results on any people who unhappily might adopt it. The conclusions I then formed, and of which I made no secret, were, 1st, that the Prussian system was not intended to educate, but to destroy the human mind. 2d, that as nothing good could come from the House of Brandenburg and its drum-head government, it ought to be at once refused admittance into Britain. At that time I could get none to agree with me on these points: to-day, however, I find that even in the House of Commons, where truth penetrates latest, the execrable scheme has been exposed. This really infamous plan to destroy by misdirected State education the mind of the rising generation, was not confined to Prussia; it extended all over Austria." 315—316.

"4. No mixed race can stand their ground for any long period of years. The Danish (Scandinavian or Saxon) blood, which must have existed in sufficient abundance in South England during and

subsequent to Canute's time, has given way before the Flemish races, which preceded the Saxon, and now prevails everywhere. All traces of the Scandinavian and Celtic seem to have left Greece. The mingled Italian races, the product of so many others, seem fast reverting to a primitive race, which occupied Italy before Rome was founded. A mixed race may then be produced, but it cannot be supported by its own resources, but by continual draughts from the two pure races which originally gave origin to it.

"The character of such a race may be judged of by what ancient historians say of the Sybarites, even before the time of Pyrrhus, and by the accounts which some modern travellers give us of the present Neapolitans and South Italians, including the Sicilian. For the sake of humanity I should hope that these accounts are exaggerated; it has been said, that after thirty years of age all the characters of the vilest passions appear strongly on the South Italian countenance, in an unmistakeable way. There must still be a good deal of Pelasgic blood in Campania and Sicily." 316.

"5. No existing race is equal to the colonization of the whole earth. They cannot even extend themselves from one continent to another. Already the Anglo-Saxon rears with difficulty his offspring in Australia: it is the same in most parts of America. But for the supplies they receive from Europe the race would perish, even in these most healthy climates. We have the authority of Mr. Warburton for a fact I long suspected, but could not fully

ascertain. Jewish children cannot live in Jerusalem; and the whole race would die out in a few years in the promised land, but for the influx of stranger Jews from other countries. A great section of the Jewish race was probably Chaldean; for on the Nimrod monuments the Jewish cast of features is quite discernible. Another great section was Coptic. A Syrian section must have existed or grown up by intermarriage. No Jew lived in Jerusalem until after David's time, and even then the original inhabitants, the Jebusites, (Syrians,) continued peaceably to occupy the city. It is probable, then, that in time the race may return to the original Chaldean; but in England the Coptic features show remarkably in some families." 317.

"6. The *Saxon race*, as a race, is the tallest in the world, but *cæterus paribus*, they are not the strongest. The Celt is stronger, and so, probably is the Arab: the Congo black, Molineux, was much stronger than any Englishman of his day. But in this climate, tall men frequently die early, of pulmonary consumption; and hence the greater mortality of the Foot-guards, and the difficulty of maintaining the standard of recruitment. They enter the service, moreover, too young. When sent to fine climates, as the Cape, and Australia, such persons live readily; they escape consumption. The descendants also of the Saxon race seem to become a taller race in these latter countries; but this arises merely from the circumstance that the tall children, who would die in Europe, survive at the Cape, and in Australia.

"The Saxon despises soldiering, so that his armies generally are heavy, cumbrous, and expensive. He is trained or disciplined with great difficulty. The *pure English peasantry* make wretched soldiers: they have neither the shape nor the qualities fitting them for war. The proper field for action of the Saxon is the ocean.

"The Saxon, then, is not warlike, and he hates unprofitable wars: but he is brave as any man, and his strength and obstinacy make him a formidable enemy. As the Saxon by becoming a soldier loses the esteem of his fellow Saxons, so the status of the English soldier in society can never be raised; the meanest *independent* laborer despises him; he has sold his independence, the natural birthright of the Saxon. The Celtic race, destitute of all self-esteem, does not understand this: the Celt makes the best of soldiers: at sea he is all but worthless." 317-318.

"7. Homer must have seen a Scandinavian woman, else he could not so have described Penelope. The complexion he assigns to her exists in no other race.

"Climate alters not complexion permanently: individual alterations never become hereditary. My esteemed friend, Dr. Andrew Smith, informs me, that, curious to know the truth on this point, he attentively looked at a family descended from forefathers who came to South Africa with the first settlers. Three hundred years, then, had elapsed since their first arrival. Their descendants at this moment are as fair as the fairest of Europeans.

"The Dutch at the Cape (Saxons) have a perfect

horror for the colored races; it extends to the Mulatto, whom they absolutely despise. The placing a colored man in an important official situation in South Africa, has caused to Britain the loss of some millions, and laid the basis for the ultimate separation of that colony from Britain." 318.

"10. Since this work has gone to the press, I have been informed by a military friend, an excellent observer, that the Saxon-Dutch at the Cape have seldom numerous families. I entertained myself at one time the opposite opinion, but I feel now convinced of the correctness of my friend's remarks. This explains the slow increase of population in Southern Africa, and is another confirmation of the great physiological law I have been the first to propose—namely, that no *race*, be they who they may, can appropriate to themselves any other continent than the one to which they are indigenous. The ultimate extension, then, of the Saxon, or of any other race, to other continents than their own, is a dream or vision, opposed to all previous history. What Providence may do for that, or for any other race, I do not pretend to know. Under Providence we were driven shamefully out of Affghanistan; and at Buenos Ayres, and at Rosetta; dispossessed of the United States; Walcheren tells a sad tale; and always under Providence the amount of juvenile delinquency and crime exceeds in England probably all that at present exists on the globe. I leave the matter in the hands of the theologian, who, whether he be Lutheran or Catholic, Greek or Ma-

hometan, will, no doubt, reconcile all contradictions. I pretend to nothing, but simply inquire.

"The Huns are interlopers from Asia; their fate seems certain. It is the same with the Turcoman. The Jew never could make good his ground in Syria, nor the true Arab in Africa. The Celts of England, Ireland, and Scotland, are just where they were a thousand years before Cæsar landed. So are the Normans or Flemings of South England before William landed: so are the Saxons of Eastern England and Scotland. Spain seems returning to a single primitive race, existing there long before the Phœnicians landed in the Peninsula. Italy seems to be undergoing the same process." 319-320.

"14. The origin of man is a myth, which each race interprets in its own way, formules after the fashion of its own intellectual bearing; retouches as it makes progress in arts, literature, and science; that is, in civilization.

"I mean not here to discuss these myths. The Jewish myth seems to have been a purely material one; philosophic, and sublimely simple, it offers no details. The Coptic and Hindoo was spiritual and lofty, but debased by shocking obscenities; the minds of the races were not equal to the perception of the perfect and beautiful. The Scandinavian myth was coarse and brutal; material in its essence: the hideous representations of the Deity in India, China, Mongolia, and Polynesia, indicate the sad character of the minds of these races.

"The precise geological period when man appeared on the earth, has not been determined; nor

what race appeared first; nor under what form. But it is evident, that man has survived several geological æras. On these points all is at present conjecture; but as man merely forms a portion of the material world, he must of necessity be subject to all the physiological and physical laws affecting life on the globe. His pretensions to place himself above nature's laws, assume a variety of shapes: sometimes he affects mystery; at other times he is grandly mechanical. Now, all is to be done through the workshop, in a little while, the ultimatum (what is the ultimatum aimed at?) is to be gained through religion: and thus man frets his hour upon the stage of life, fancying himself something whilst he is absolutely nothing. For him worlds were made millions of years ago, and yet according to his own account he appeared, as it were, but yesterday. Let us leave human chronology to the chronicler of events; it turned the brain of Newton.

CHAPTER VIII.

PETER A. BROWNE.

The Classification of Mankind, by the Hair and Wool of their Heads, with an Answer to Dr. PRICHARD'S Assertion, that "The Covering of the Head of the Negro is Hair, properly so termed, and not Wool:" by PETER A. BROWNE, Esq.

"IN examining the natural covering of the head of man, the first circumstance worthy of note is the want of uniformity of form or shape of a filament. If a transverse section or disk of one of these is made sufficiently thin to lie upon the object holder of a microscope, and it is examined under that potent instrument, it will be found to be *cyindrical*—if the same is done with a second, it will be proved to be *oval*—while a third will be *eccentrically elliptical*. By extending these examinations, as we have done, to hundreds of these integuments, it becomes manifest that these three are the prevailing forms or shapes. There are, it is true, some variations from these three; but they are not more numerous than the usual deviations from other general rules. Now we respectfully submit that, in making this *individual variance* in shape, but *specific adherence* to three forms, the basis of a classification of pile, we have not deviated from the usual path pursued by our scientific predecessors. The botanist pays strict regard to the *shape* of the root, of the stalk, of the leaves, and even of the flowers of

plants; the mineralogist not only describes the *forms*, but even measures the angles of crystals; then why should the *shape* be disregarded in the grouping of hairs? In applying these rules, we soon found that the hair of the head of the Choctaw and some other nations of American Indians, is *cylindrical*—that the hair of the white man is *oval*—and that the wool of the Negro is *eccentrically elliptical* or *flat*. These are the three *species*. * * *

“A further examination of these tegumentary appendages, and of these three forms of pile, satisfies us that they are equally distinguishable by *direction*; by which we mean the course, or path, which a hair pursues from the point where it pierces the epidermis to its apex. These, also, are divided into three kinds, viz: 1st, The straight and lank. 2d, The flowing or curled. 3d, The crisped, or frizzled, which is, also, sometimes spirally twisted. We crave patience, while we endeavor to show that each of these qualities of pile is dependent upon its *particular form*, in connection with its essential properties, which are common to them all; and that, consequently, they must be found to prevail, respectively, in each of the above races. We propose to show that cylindrical hair must necessarily be straight and lank, and consequently, if the American Indian has cylindrical hair, it must hang straightly and lankly from his head; if the white man has oval hair, it must necessarily flow from, or curl upon his head, and if the Negro has wool, which is eccentrically elliptical, for that very reason

it is crisped or frizzled, and sometimes curls spirally all over his head.

“In order to make ourself understood upon these important points, it is necessary that we should premise that, among the essential properties of all pile are *ductility* and *elasticity*; these are so inseparably connected with this integument, as to become important tests of identity; enabling us, when we examine a filament in which they are absent, to determine that it is *not pile*. It soon became an object to us to ascertain in what part of a hair these properties reside; and by repeated experiments of the most rigid and satisfactory character we discovered that it is in the *fibres*.

“In all pile constructed according to the plan revealed by modern examinations under the microscope, there are antagonizing forces, viz: that of these ductile and elastic fibres to stretch and shrink, as acted upon mechanically or chemically, and that of the non-ductile and inelastic squamose cortex, to resist these forces. Now, when a hair is cylindrical, the stretching and shrinking tendency of the fibres is, on all sides of the filaments, *equal*; and this equality, aided by the restriction of the cortex, preserves the hair straight, and makes it lank. But when a hair departs from the cylindrical form, the stretching and shrinking powers of the filament become *unequal* in the same degree; for those of the fibres upon the two flattened sides, become more powerful than those of the fibres of the ellipsoids; there is, consequently, a tendency in this filament to curve in the direction of one of

and Negro; but he appears at a loss to explain the phenomenon. It is the *hair* of the Malay, with the *inclination* of the Negro's wool.

"Here, again, let us pause for a moment, and reflect upon our progress. We find the head of the white man covered with a pile which, in shape, is oval—in direction, flowing, or curled—and which pierces the epidermis at an acute angle; while the wool of the Negro is, in form, eccentrically elliptical, or flat—in direction, crisped, or frizzled, and sometimes spirally twisted, and in inclination issues out of his epidermis at a right angle. We confidently appeal to naturalists, whether these are not *prominent specific* differences. But, to proceed.

"Pile is furnished with a coloring matter, which is variously disposed. The hair of the head of the white man, besides its cortex and intermediate fibres, has a *central canal*, in which this coloring matter, when the hair has any, flows; when this hair is *colorless*, the central canal is still found, but it is then *vacant*. But the wool of the Negro has no central canal; the coloring matter, when present, is disseminated throughout the cortex, or is in the cortex and intermediate fibres. Is not this also a specific distinction? But this variation in the disposition of the coloring matter is, as regards classification of pile, a more important feature than at first strikes the mind; for, according to the rules of science, one organ is considered more perfect than another, if it employs a greater variety of apparatus in the performance of its functions. Now, *here* we find the hair of the head of the white man possessing an

apparatus, viz: a canal for the conveyance of its coloring matter, which, in the wool of the Negro is *entirely wanting*; nature *there* making use of the cortex, or the cortex and fibres for *this*, in common with *other* purposes. The inference is irresistible. The hair of the white man is *more perfect* than that of the Negro; and, as we know by experience, that of all pile, that of the head of man is the most completely organized, we will not, perhaps, be wandering astray, in ranking the hair of the head of the white man as *a perfect hair*.

“Let us once more take a view of these distinctions as they have now been pointed out; only, this time, for the sake of greater perspicuity, confining ourselves to the integuments of the white man, and those of the Negro. The hair of the white man is perfect, having not only all the apparatus found in other pile, but one belonging exclusively to itself, viz: a central canal for the conveyance of the coloring matter; it is, in shape oval; in direction flowing, or curling; in inclination, acute angled to the epidermis, out of which it issues.

“The wool of the Negro, on the contrary, is an imperfect pile, having no central canal for the conveyance of its coloring matter; it is, in shape, eccentrically elliptical, or flat, and issues out of the epidermis at a right angle thereto.

“The next and last topic to which we mean at present to allude, for it is not our intention to exhaust the subject, but rather to introduce it to notice, is the *scales* upon the cortex of the pile.

“These scales, since they have been discovered

to be the main cause of the felting and fulling of wool, have become objects of intense interest; but our observations in regard to them must be of a very limited character. We will, then, barely remark, that they are common to both hair and wool; but that they differ so much upon these two kinds of pile, as almost, if not entirely, to justify the assertion that, in the *first*, they are in a *rudimentary* state only, in the *second*, in their *perfect* one. On hair they are few in number, comparatively; they are smooth of surface, the points are rounded, and they closely embrace the shaft. On the Negro's wool they are numerous, rough, sharp pointed, and they project from the shaft. The hair of the white man will not felt, but the wool of the Negro will felt. On hair, the edges of these scales resemble mere transverse striæ; on wool, they are prominent and apparent.

'But we are obliged to admit, that opposed to these opinions of ours, there are some high authorities, the principal one of which we will proceed to examine.

"Dr. Prichard, (in Nat. Hist. of Man, p. 16,) cites Wagner for the following laws, viz:

"1st. 'That hybrid plants, in a natural state, are very seldom produced, and that the greatest number of the reputed instances rest on no sufficient evidence.'

"2d. 'That hybrid plants are very seldom fruitful among themselves, but that such hybrids as the *Verbascum hybridum* and the *Digitalis purpurascens*, from the *D. purpurea* and the *lutea*, and all

others which hold an exactly intermediate place between the parent plants, are *absolutely barren*; while those which (owing to the proportion of pollen) partake more of either kind, and those which spring from the fertilization of such hybrids among themselves, are occasionally propagated.

“3d. ‘That plants produced from different *varieties* of the same *species*, are altogether fertile, and that no impediment exists to their propagation; while hybrids either revert to the original character, (generally that of the maternal parent,) or become gradually less capable of reproduction; and, within a few generations, become entirely extinct.’

“Dr. Prichard then remarks, that ‘A similar law prevails in the animal creation, and that its effects are, on a great scale, equally constant and uniform. Mules (he says) and other hybrid animals, are produced among tribes in a state of domestication; but that, except in some very rare instances, (occurring in particular tribes of birds,) they are unknown in the wild and natural state.’ And he adds, ‘that even when individual hybrids are produced, it is found impossible to perpetuate, from them, a *new breed*. That it is only by returning towards one of the parent tribes, that the offspring of these animals is capable of being continued in successive generations,’ *i. e.* of forming a permanent race.

“These laws of hybridism, so important in themselves, in a scientific point of view, become doubly so, from the circumstance that they form the chief ground upon which the Dr. founds his proposition,

that 'all the different races of men belong to but one species.'

"The Dr. admits (p. 18) that 'in order to support this proposition, he is bound to prove that mankind, of all races and varieties, are equally capable of propagating their offspring by intermarriages, and that such connections are equally prolific, whether contracted between individuals of the same, or of the most dissimilar varieties.'

"Having, very properly, taken upon himself the *onus probandi*, the Dr. commences his evidence with the table of M. Rugundus, (*Voyage dans les Brazils en 1835*,) which purports to give the relative number of 'whites,' 'men of color,' 'negroes,' and 'Indians,' in different parts of America, in different years, some as far back as 1778, and others as late 1824. Upon this table, it is worthy of remark, that the most it can prove, if every word is taken for verity, is, that there exists, in the places therein named, a large number of mulattoes, and even to do this, it must be taken for granted that 'men of color,' means 'mulattoes,' and that the blacks are called 'negroes.' We do not know how this is in Brazil, but in this vicinity, if any one were to call a black person a 'negro,' it is ten to one that he would be offended; although black is said to be no color at all, the blackest person is here denominated 'a person of color.'

"Morse, in speaking of Brazil, in 1821, estimates the population at two millions, which, he says, is composed of whites, negroes, Indians, mulattoes and mestizoes. He does not give us the particulars of

this motley group; but Mitchell says that three-fifths of the population are Negro slaves.

"2d. In regard to the West Indies, upon which, it will be seen in p. 18, that the Dr. implicitly relies upon this table, as showing a race of mulattoes, the number of men of color and Negroes are not put down by M. Rugundus separately; but the whole, without date, are estimated at 1,600,000.

"In Goodrich's Geography (1840) they are proportioned as follows: free blacks, 1,503,712; slaves, 367,865; total, 1,811,577. The mulattoes not being considered of sufficient consequence to be separately enumerated.

"3d. In the United States of America, another stronghold of Dr. Prichard's, this table of M. Rugundus' computes that, in 1820, there were 7,793,008 whites, 1769 men of color! and *no Negroes nor blacks!* unless they are included in the 1769 men of color!

"In Goodrich's Geography, the inhabitants of the United States for this same year, 1820, are thus estimated: whites, 7,872,711; slaves, 1,543,688; free colored, 238,197; total, 9,654,596. No distinction being made between the blacks and mulattoes.

"We therefore respectfully submit that this table, conceived in ignorance, and brought forth in error, is, for the purpose that it has been used by Dr. Prichard, viz: to prove that the mulatto is a self-perpetuating race, entirely useless.

"The next item in Dr. Prichard's evidence, consists of certain examples of intermixed tribes of men,

wherein, (as he says,) entirely new and intermediate stocks have been produced and multiplied.

“The first of these is the Griquas, or Grequa Hottentots, descended from the Dutch Colonists and the aboriginal Hottentots. The Hottentots are described, in Morse’s Gazetteer, as consisting of three races, viz: the inhabitants of the Colony, the Bosjesmans and the Namaquas. The first are described as a mild, quiet, and timid people, but naturally the most lazy on earth; their indolence, (says this author,) is a real disease, they will rather fast and sleep the whole day, than seek food by any exertion! The Cape Colony was settled by the Dutch in 1650; the United Brethren established a mission among them in 1736, which was renewed in 1792, and in 1815 it was conquered by the British. Griqua town is a station of the London Missionaries, on the great Orange river, seven hundred miles north-east of Cape town. Mitchell describes the Griquas as quiet, inoffensive, and ignorant, but filthy in their habits, and ugly in their persons; and, he says, that their language is compared to the clucking of a turkey.

“The reader cannot fail to admire the Doctor’s selection of this example. One has only to look at the drawing, and read the description of Dr. Prichard of one of these clucking unplumed bipeds, to be convinced that they are hybrids of the intermediate class, noticed by Wagner; the work of man’s hands, not of those of the Almighty; a race which he allows to blot and blemish nature for a limited time only, and then extinguishes; as if it were in vindi-

cation of the beauty and order of his creation of species.

"The second example given by Dr. Prichard of an entire new stock being produced and multiplied, is the Brazilian Cafusos. We have already spoken of the population of Brazil, in general terms, in our remarks upon the table of *M. Rugundus*, and it remains only to say, that these *Mestizoes* are, to all appearance, hybrids, crosses of the native Indians with Negroes brought from Africa. If they are not hybrids, but an entirely new stock, it was the business of Dr. Prichard to have shown that they are not continually produced by the same mixture of species to which they owe their origin, and that they neither return to the species of one of their parents, nor run out after a few generations, according to the law of hybridism, which he has quoted and admitted to be universal. This is the pivot of the case, and in this his evidence fails entirely.

"The third and last example adduced by Dr. Prichard, is the Papuas of the northern coast of Guinea, and the adjacent islands. The knowledge of these people is traced to Dampier, Forrest, and M. M. Quoy, and Guimard, and M. Lesson, the latter of whom pronounces them to be hybrids. Speaking of those authors who preceded him, he says, that they are the first, '*qui ont démontré que les habitants du littoral constituoient une espece hybride,*' &c. &c.; and he adds, what confirms this opinion, viz: that '*the greater part de ces papeuas hybrides présente des hommes d'une constitution grele et*

peu vigoureuse,' which, we respectfully submit, accords with the character and description of hybrids.

"With the whole world before him, these are the only instances which this indefatigable author has been able to glean, and these are far from proving his position. Dr. Prichard, nevertheless, triumphantly concludes, that 'it is unquestionable that intermediate races of men exist and are propagated, and that no impediment whatever exists as to the perpetuation of mankind when the most dissimilar variations are blended together.' But this conclusion is unwarrantable by the proofs he has adduced, even admitting that he has shown the existence of mongrel races; for, in two out of three cases, he has altogether neglected and failed to show that 'no impediment exists to their perpetuation,' and yet that was the part of the proposition upon which the question turns; and in the third case he has, by proving that they are hybrids, shown that an impediment does exist to their perpetuation. It is a singular way to prove a matter in dispute to produce two witnesses, who are entirely ignorant of it, and a third, who testifies the very reverse of the proposition!

"Dr. Prichard next proceeds, with admirable industry, to the collection of evidence to show that, with many of the lower animals, domestication and change of climate and habits have caused varieties and diversities; from which he infers that all the differences apparent in the races of men may have been occasioned by the same influences.

"Protesting that the inference he draws is a *non*

sequitur from the premises, were they proved or admitted, we will submit the following brief, but satisfactory answer to his proposition, viz: that it matters not what may have been the cases with the lower animals, that in regard to man, such has not been the fact; for, if history is at all to be depended upon, the Negro has been the same black-skinned, woolly-headed animal for the last two thousand years. Herodotus, in the year 413, B. C., describes his black complexion and woolly hair; and we know from experience, that a white man may live in a tropical climate, and even turn savage, without affecting the color of his skin, or the shape, direction, or inclination of his hair, while pure Negroes may be propagated from generation to generation in temperate climates, but always with the same rete mucosum and flat frizzled wool issuing at right angles from the epidermis of his scalp. To these unyielding facts, all reasoning from analogy must succumb, and all biasses of religion and humanity must give way. In page 7, Dr. Prichard tells that 'he does not regard this question as one of which the decision is a matter of indifference, either in religion or humanity.' This is *ad captandum vulgus*, and not the language of a philosopher in search of truth. His mind should be unprejudiced,—he ought to have no hypothesis nor theory to support, no polar star but truth. We shall now proceed to the second branch of the inquiry.

"Dr. Prichard has devoted the greater part of one section of his book, to what he appears to esteem full proof, that the tegumentary appendages

of the Negro's scalp is not wool, but hair. He commences thus: 'It is commonly said, that the substance which grows on the head of the African races, and some other dark colored tribes, chiefly inhabiting tropical climates, is wool, and not hair.'

"And he concludes with these words:—

"'From these observations, I am convinced that the Negro has hair, properly so termed, and not wool.'

"Now, as we agree with Dr. Prichard, that a prerequisite to the determination of this point is to form a clear idea of the difference between hair and wool, we will first, with him, turn our attention in that direction.

"Here again the Dr. properly admits, that he is bound to wield the laboring oar, having undertaken to show what is in opposition to the common sense, and commonly expressed opinion of mankind. But to his proofs. He commences with citations from Dr. Eble. We have not this last named gentleman's book before us; but, according to Dr. Prichard's own showing, his principal labors were bestowed upon a comparison of the merino wool, with the fleece of the Chinese sheep. Wool compared with wool, and not wool with hair! He found a striking difference between these two wools; a circumstance not at all surprising in a contrast of the fine Spanish wool with the coarse Chinese fleece.

"Dr. Eble is represented as saying, that 'all wool displays filaments twisted and matted in all directions.' This twisting and matting, (as he calls *them*,) which, when applied to the manufacture of

hats, is called felting, and when to cloth, fulling, is caused by the scales upon the filaments; and as we are here given to understand by Dr. Eble is a characteristic of that integument; and therefore it was reasonably to be expected from Dr. Prichard, if he proffered to prove by Dr. Eble, that the covering of the Negro's head was not wool, to show that it was destitute of this characteristic. But, to our surprise, he does nothing of the kind.

"Dr. Eble is further quoted as saying, that 'the shaft of the filament of the wool does not preserve an uniform calibre, but is thickened here and there, and often swelled with appearances of knots.' Here, again, we anticipated that Dr. Prichard would take upon himself to show that the covering of the Negro's head differed from wool in these essential particulars; but he has not even made the attempt.

"Dr. Eble is still further represented by Dr. Prichard, as saying, that 'he could everywhere distinguish the medula or pith, and could accurately discriminate between this and the cortical substance.' In this assertion, Dr. Eble, (if he is correctly quoted,) was in error, for wool has no central canal. But this error escaped entirely the notice of Dr. Prichard, which does not prove a deep knowledge of the subject.

"Hitherto, the observations of Dr. Eble, (so far as we have them at second hand,) are confined to wool, but he is, in the next place, represented as speaking of wool and hair. 'The hair of the Thibean goat, (he is made to say,) approaches, in its texture, very nearly to the Merino wool, only it is smaller in the

diameter of its shaft, and the transverse laminæ [the edges of the scales] are not so regularly placed.' We have no specimens of the tegumentary appendage of the goat of Thibet, but notice that Milne Edwards calls it wool, (*laine*.)—See *Elem de Zool.*, 447. There is, therefore, no cause for surprise, that it should resemble Merino wool. But suppose, for the sake of the argument, we were to admit it to be hair, was it not the duty of Dr. Prichard to have compared this pile of the goat with that of the Negro, and to have informed us of the result?

"Again, after having quoted all that he deemed necessary from this learned German, was it not the business of Dr. Prichard to have shown, therefrom, what is hair, and what is wool, and to have pointed wherein the covering of the Negro's head is similar to the one and different from the other? And, since he has done neither the one nor the other of these, are we not compelled to admit, that his citations from Dr. Eble are of no avail; leaving the question as uncertain as it was before they were made?

"Dr. Prichard next refers to the writings of M. Monge and Mr. Youatt. The former of these was the first person who suggested that the scales upon pile were subservient to the felting process, and the latter was the first who saw and described the scales.

"But there is not one sentence in the essays of either of these gentlemen, which countenances the idea that 'the covering of the head of the Negro is hair, properly so termed, and not wool.' If there is, let it be produced.

"But the Dr. like the farmer in the fable, having

entirely failed in obtaining aid from others, falls back upon his own resources. In p. 105, he tells us that, 'with the aid of Mr. Estling, and a microscope of about 400, he examined the filaments of hair belonging to the following different races of men, viz: Negro,* Mulatto, European and Abyssinian, and compared these with the filaments of wool of the Southdown sheep. That the filaments of the wool had a very rough and irregular surface, though no serrations, distinctly so termed, were perceptible. That the hair of the Negro, which was extremely unlike that of wool, and of all the other varieties mentioned, had the appearance of a cylinder, with a smooth surface. That they all appeared, more or less, filled with a dark coloring matter; which, however, did not entirely destroy their transparency. That the coloring matter was apparently much more abundant in the hair of the Negro, than in the others. That the Abyssinian hair was also very dark, but so far diaphanous, that a ribbon-like band appeared running down through the middle of the cylindriciform tube; and that the mulatto hair resembled the Abyssinian in this respect. That the filament of European hair seemed almost entirely transparent; it had the appearance of an empty tube, coated internally with something of a dingy or dusky color; which only prevented it from being quite pellucid. That the European hair of a light

* * Ought not the Dr. to have stated whether the specimen he examined was pure Negro, or at least, to have informed us where it was obtained; for it is notorious, that there are mongrels of black and white crosses, whose position cannot be determined by the color of the skin."

color, had the same appearance, but was still less darkened.'

"Let us examine these descriptions and comparisons in detail. The high character of the author, and the important conclusion to which he comes from them, will justify this proceeding.

"He says, that 'the wool of the Southdown sheep had a very rough and irregular surface, though no serrations, distinctly so termed, were perceptible.' Serrations is the name given by Mr. Youatt to the edges and points of the scales of pile, and ~~they~~ were not only seen by Mr. Youatt upon the wool of the Southdown sheep, but were counted, and in his Essay upon Sheep, which was published in 1835, they are depicted and described. We have in our collection of specimens of wool some of the pure Southdown, upon which these scales and their edges are as plainly to be seen under the microscope, as any other object of their minuteness.

"'The hair of the Negro, which was extremely unlike that of wool,' &c.

"This is not the language of a naturalist, examining an object with the microscope. He either explains the particulars in which an 'extreme unlikeness' exists, or he furnishes drawings and descriptions of both objects, and leaves the reader to judge of the discrepancy for himself.

"'The hair of the Negro had the appearance of a cylinder.'

"If it is cylindrical, (which, by the way, is exceedingly easy to determine under the microscope,) why not say so, and no more? We have examined

numerous specimens of the covering of the Negro's head, and have never found one that was cylindrical. Where the Negro blood is pure, they are always eccentrically elliptical or flat.

"But the hair of the Negro was not only extremely unlike that of wool, but was, also, extremely unlike that of the other varieties of pile examined by Dr. Prichard, viz: those of the mulatto, the European and the Abyssinian. It is, then, a *non descript*, and we are at a loss to conceive how this learned gentleman, who decides that it is not wool, because it is extremely unlike the wool of the Southdown sheep, can infer that it is hair, because it is extremely unlike all the hair with which it is compared!

" 'The surface was smooth.'

"This is a most unfortunate discovery, for it proves that it is neither hair nor wool; for both these integuments have a squamose cortex, which prevents the surface from being smooth; the scales of wool, nevertheless, being more numerous, more pointed, and setting looser on the shaft than those of hair. If Dr. Prichard could not discover these scales upon the filament of a Southdown sheep, it must have been owing to some defect or want of power in the microscope he used, or to his own want of skill in its management; and in either of these cases it is not surprising that he imagined that his favorite pile was smooth.

" 'The hairs all appeared to be more or less filled with a dark coloring matter; but the coloring matter

was apparently much more abundant in the hair of the Negro.'

"If they were all filled, how could the Negro's be much more abundant? Was his more than filled?

"'The Abyssinian hair was also very dark, but so far diaphonous [transparent?] that what was in its centre could be perceived.'

"This is a very extraordinary kind of 'very dark transparency,' to say the least of it, and this part of the sentence might have been more happily expressed. But how was this darkness visible? 'A ribbon-like band in a cylindriform tube.' Now, if Dr. Prichard, (even with the aid of Mr. Estlin,) could, with a microscope of 400, see the central tube of an Abyssinian hair so plainly as to determine that it was cylindriform, and yet could not see the scales of the cortex of a Southdown sheep, it deserves to be set down as one of the wonders of this miraculous age!

"Unfortunately, we have in our cabinet no specimens of Abyssinian hair; but Dr. Prichard informs us that the mulatto's hair resembles that of the Abyssinian in this respect; and we have mulatto hair and mulatto wool in abundance; for the tegumentary appendages of this hybrid resemble sometimes the pile of one parent, and at other times that of the other, as laid down in the laws of hybridism, cited at the commencement of this review, and confirmed by Dr. Prichard.

"'The European hair,' [of what nation?] 'seemed' [this word sometimes means to have the appearance

without the reality!] 'almost entirely transparent.' We respectfully submit that these expressions are almost entirely too vague to be admitted into a physiological description; especially when the object of that description is to convince that wool is hair, because it grows on a Negro's head!

"'It had the appearance of an empty tube.' Yet it was not empty, for he says that 'it had an internal coating of something.' [What that something is, we take for granted was indeterminate; for the Dr. has left it undetermined.] But it was 'of a dingy dusky color,' [to which of the seven colors does this belong?] 'which only prevented it' [what would it do more than prevent it?] 'from being quite pellucid.' What an astonishing discovery, that a dark color should prevent an object from being pellucid!

"So much for Dr. Prichard's examination and description of the covering of the head of the Negro, from which he was convinced that it is 'hair, properly so termed, and not wool.'

'To do the Dr. justice, he does not appear to be entirely satisfied with his own conclusions upon this subject; for he winds up, by informing his readers that 'if the Negro's hair were wool, it would by no means prove the Negro to be a peculiar and separate stock; since we know that some tribes of animals bear wool, while others of the same species are covered with hair.'

"We would be much pleased to know the exact meaning here attached to the words 'stock' 'tribes,' and 'species.' If they are used synonymously, and he means to say that the modification of being

covered with hair, or covered with wool, when permanently native in the race, is not a sufficient ground for a specific division of a genus, we respectfully deny the assertion, and call upon this learned author to sustain himself by references to natural history. In page 249, Dr. Prichard gives a definition of species, which is not unexceptionable, but by which we are willing, on this occasion, to abide. He says, 'Species are simply tribes of animals which are certainly known, or may be inferred on satisfactory grounds, to have descended from the same stocks, or from parentages precisely similar, and in no way distinguished from each other.' But the parentages cannot be said to be precisely similar, and no way distinguished, if those of one race have been certainly known always to have hair, and the other wool.

"To conclude, we opine that hair and wool are not the same integument; for,

"1st. Hair is, in shape, either cylindrical or oval; but wool is eccentrically elliptical or flat; and the covering of the Negro's head is eccentrically elliptical or flat.

"2d. The direction of hair is either straight, flowing, or curled; but wool is crisped or frizzled, and sometimes spirally twisted; and the covering of the Negro's head is crisped or frizzled, and sometimes spirally twisted.

"3d. Hair issues out of the epidermis at an acute angle, but wool emerges at a right angle; and the covering of the Negro's head issues out of the epidermis at a right angle.

"4th. The coloring matter of a perfect hair, for example, that of the head of the white man, is contained in a central canal; but that of wool is disseminated in the cortex, or in the cortex and intermediate fibres; and the covering of the head of the Negro has no central canal.

"5th. The scales of the cortex of hair are less numerous than those of wool, are smooth, and less pointed, and they embrace the shaft more intimately; and the scales on the filaments of the covering of the Negro's head are numerous, rough, pointed, and do not embrace the shaft intimately.

"COROLLARY.—Hair will not felt, but wool will; and the covering of the Negro's head will felt—has been felted.

"For these and other reasons we are 'convinced' that the Negro has on his head 'wool, properly so termed,' and not hair. And since the white man has hair upon his head, and the Negro has wool, we have no hesitancy in pronouncing that they belong to two distinct species.

"M. Flourens, an eminent French physiologist, found four distinct layers between the cuticle and the cutis; the second of which, he says, is a mucous membrane—a distinct organized body, underlying the pigment, and existing in persons of dark color only. M. Flourens sought, in vain, for this membrane between the cutis and outer lamina of the epidermis of a white man; and yet this is the seat of the discoloration produced in his complexion by exposure to the sun. From these examinations, this distinguished naturalist and anatomist was able

to pronounce, definitely, that the discoloration in the skin of the white man is totally different in kind from the cause of blackness in the Negro, he therefore justly concludes that the Negro and the European are separate species of beings.

“We are prepared to show, by proofs incontestible, that there are different species of sheep that are now amalgamated; but from which no permanent stock can ever be produced.”

CHAPTER IX.

VAN AMBRIDGE ON THE NATURAL HISTORY OF MAN.

"1. THE extreme urgency of the doctrine that climate, modes of living, and habits of the people, cause the varieties of organization and color in man, has compelled its advocates, in some instances disingenuously, to resort to examples which could only be available by a suppression of part of the facts. Of this kind is the example of the Portuguese colony, which, upon the early discovery of the country, was established in Congo, and which is now lost by amalgamation with the Negro inhabitants. The story is told so as to leave the impression that they are lost by being turned to Negroes by the effects of the climate, &c., which, if true, would be a decided case in point. It is true, that they are lost to the whites, though some slight traces of the European countenance are yet preserved in their descendants; but climate, and manner of living had far less effect in making them Negroes, than their intermarriage with the blacks, for about fifteen generations;—mixture enough, in all conscience, to lose a small colony of whites among a large body of blacks."

"2. If we survey the great family of mankind, what do we behold? Not only a most singular geographical separation of several great families into distinct habitants; not only permanent distinctions of color and organization; not only aversions to intermarriages; but different sexual relations, dif-

ferent religions, different governments, different modes of life, manners, habits, and intellectual power. All of these differences have prevailed from their earliest histories, and continue without alteration. Compare, for instance, the people of Great Britain, with a population of twenty-two millions, with the most favorable examples of the dark races, the Chinese, with a population of three hundred millions. What has enabled these Islanders to dictate terms to a nation containing nearly one-third of mankind? What enabled them to chastise them at their own doors, ten thousand miles from their own homes?—Intellect! To the Chinese this must have appeared astonishing; but to us, who know the secret of power; who know that Great Britain, with her small population, by means of her giant intellect, actually performs the labor of a population equal to that of all the people of the world, if every man, woman, and child, were adult able-bodied laborers, so far from being a matter of surprise, the result was a matter of course. China, with three hundred millions of stereotyped Confucians, could not contend with Great Britain with her nine hundred millions of Bacons and Newtons. This immense disparity of intellect is not only displayed by Great Britain in comparison with China; for, although in them we have contrasted the most favorable of the white and dark races, the contrast will be equally strong, if we compare the whole Shemitic family, with any one or all of the dark races. Nor do the contrasts stop here. Compare the Ishmaelites with the Japhethites, or either of these with the Canaan-

ites, and the difference of manners, habits, mode of living, and intellectual powers, are quite as strong, nay stronger than those which distinguish the species of most genera of animals."

"3. The physical condition of the Canaanites is so low that we scarcely know how to describe it. When we say that their women are in the most abject condition, and that their governments, laws, religion, arts, sciences, agriculture, comforts, and conveniences of life, are fairly represented by them, it is sufficiently accurate to answer our object."

"4. A remarkable difference in the anatomy of the skin of the different species of men, has been long known; but has never, that we know of, been regarded by physiologists as having any influence upon sensibility. The skin of the white race consists of two parts only, viz: the scarf skin, and the true skin; whereas the skin of the Negro consists of three parts, viz: the scarf skin, the rete mucosum, and the true skin. Notwithstanding the disputes among the learned, in regard to this intervening reticular substance, we regard the matter as settled, that there is no discoverable rete mucosum in the Shemitic species; and that it exists in the Negro, and may be exhibited by dissection. 'When a blister has been applied to the skin of a Negro,' says Cruikshank, 'if it has not been very stimulating, in twelve hours after, a thin, greyish, transparent membrane is raised, under which we find a fluid. This membrane is the cuticle, or scarf skin. When this, with the fluid, is removed, the surface under these appears black; but if the blister had

been very stimulating, another membrane in which this black color resides, would also have been raised with the cuticle. This is the rete mucosum, which is itself double, consisting of another transparent grey membrane, and of a black web, very much resembling the pigmentum nigrum of the eye. When this membrane is removed, the surface of the true skin, as has hitherto been believed, comes in view, and is white like that of a European. The rete mucosum gives the color to the skin."

"5. We have seen it stated in a recent highly respectable periodical, though we cannot now find it, and know not on what authority it rests, that the Negro actually expires less carbonic acid than the white man; consequently, that more carbon is absorbed in the system; that, from this cause Africans seldom have foetid breath, but transpire the foetid matter, somewhat modified, chiefly by the skin. We say we know not on what authority this rests, though our impression is, it is reliable. Be this as it may, there are several facts to warrant the conclusion that there must be a difference in the respective species, in the functions of the lungs, in regard to the oxydation of the blood,—small, it may be, in amount, but vastly important in its influence upon the animal economy, and vital energy. This is manifest, not only in the rete mucosum, and the secretory functions which give rise to it, but in the lubricity of the skin, and the peculiar odor it emits. It is well known that all the dark races have a more oily, velvety skin than the white race. Johnson, in his work on 'Tropical Climates' mentions this oily

secretion of the natives of India, as one of the peculiar characteristics which protects them from the effects of the climate, not enjoyed by Europeans. This constitutional tendency to appropriate to the use of the system a large portion of carbon, the chief element of the fixed oils, is, probably a chief cause of the comparative torpor and insensibility of all the dark races, and their consequent exemption from nervous diseases."

"6. We have seen that the descent from the Shemites (whites) to the Ishmaelites, was by a wide step; and that from these to the Japhethites, the distance is very trifling; but from these to the Canaanites (Negroes) the step is again wide. There is not a single circumstance in the history of the whole of this race which indicates an intellectual appetite beyond an embryotic state. It is not enough to say that they are entirely destitute of the arts and sciences, strictly speaking; for they are destitute of all the means necessary for acquiring the most common rudiments of knowledge. They have not only no alphabet, but have not yet made the first step towards acquiring it. No people of any other species, have yet been discovered, so low in intellectual development as not to possess some mode of communicating ideas to others, otherwise than by the voice; but we do not now recollect a single nation of Canaanites (Negroes) which has any paintings, hieroglyphics, or symbols of any kind, by which to communicate ideas. Some Mohammedan Negroes, bordering on the Sahara, have received some cultivation from the Moors, together with their

religion, but *we* speak of cultivation by their own unaided efforts. In our estimate of the appetites of the different species, we have indulged in no speculations, in regard to what improvements may be made of this attribute by cultivation."

"7. The callous temperament of the Ishmaelites is unfavorable to any high display of this attribute (Prudence.) Revenge, selfishness, wantonness, and voluptuousness, are their chief incentives to action. Cruelty, robbery, destructiveness, and jealousy, are the consequences which follow such principles. Prudence is seldom present in such councils. But although, in general, they are not distinguished for this virtue, we must give them credit for a larger endowment of it than belongs to the Canaanites (Negroes,) who are almost destitute of it. Reckless, careless, and proverbially improvident, they seldom exhibit prudence in their conduct. Even after having lived centuries with the white people, from whom they have received every possible instruction for the purpose of developing an attribute which would be so serviceable to them, as well as those whom they serve, it is very far from being a virtue for which they are distinguished, or even trusted."

"8. The sluggish temperament of the Canaanites (Negroes) forms another modification of admiration. Objects which excite this feeling in them must be chiefly those of sense. Loud and boisterous mirth, brilliant colors, violent and capricious exercise, are especially exciting to them. Gloomy and parched as is their soil;—desolating, enslaving, and cruel as are their wars;—dangerous, fatiguing, and exhaust

ing, as are their journeys;—scanty as is their food;—sulky as are their tempers;—and barren and blank as are their intellects;—yet the Almighty has given to them a levity of spirits, capable of being roused by some rude and clamorous instrument of noise, which immediately elevates them above all privations, dangers, and depressions, and gives to them a boisterous mirth, an outbreak of jollity, which no other species can rival. With this childlike disposition for mirth, they unite an equally childlike simplicity of admiration. Trinkets, toys, and fantastic or gay clothing, are treasures to them. Nor do they examine them with the stern gravity of an Ishmaelite, or the courteous indifference of a Japhethite; but with hearts too full of pleasure to be smothered up, and too clamorous to be restrained within the formal limits of courtesy or indifference.”

“9. But the progress made by the Shemites (Whites,) in war, and politics, was not in reality more rapid than it was in all the other less obtrusive branches of human science. Socrates, Plato, Demosthenes, Euclid, Aristotle, Archimedes, and hosts of others whose names have been the pride and delight of succeeding ages, attest the truth of the observation. That they resorted to Egypt, Syria, Chaldea, and India, for knowledge, is freely acknowledged; but, as we have before said, it was only to obtain the raw material, to be by them converted into valuable and useful articles; as the bee collects materials from every flower, without regard to color or quality, which are afterwards elaborated into wax and honey. This eagerness for the rude elements

of knowledge, the money and labor expended in obtaining it, and the industry manifested in arranging, extending, and beautifying it, exhibit the Semitic (White) strenuous temperament at this very early period, in strong contrast with the other species; a contrast which has continued to the present moment with increased intensity. Where is the country which will not be visited—where the obstacles which will not be overcome—where the dangers which will not be braved by the Semitic (White) species to obtain knowledge? Not by an individual only, as an exception to the mass of his species, but as a general principle, applicable to thousands. No dark race has at any time exhibited this appetite for knowledge. We know of two Ishmaelites who visited China in the ninth century of our era; of several who visited their countrymen in Africa, and of several who visited the interior of Asia, who have published their travels; and recently a professor of Egypt who visited Paris. So rare are the instances of any of the dark races visiting foreign countries for information, that they scarcely amount to an exception to a general assertion—that such a labor is never performed by them, and, if we except a few Ishmaelites, it is literally true. The callous, the passive, and the sluggish temperaments in general, are only excited by sensible objects.”

“10. We say nothing of the Canaanites on the subject of this attribute, because they have receded so far, and they sank so rapidly from the patriarchal standard, that they have preserved nothing for a comparison but the extremity to which they have

sunk. The strenuous temperament of the Shemites (Whites) has placed them as far above the two middle species, as the sluggish temperament of the Canaanites (Negroes) has placed them below them."

"11. How long would be required for the species to separate, if mulattoes were confined to marriages among themselves, can only be conjectured. An offspring of a European and Negro, if constantly intermarried with a European, generally requires five generations to efface the stain of impurity.

"It might be imagined, that by confining mulattoes to mulattoes, more generations would be required. This may be the fact, but we think otherwise. It is generally the case that the offspring of Europeans and Africans partake nearly of the middle tint, and physical characters of the parent; and the same equal partition of properties generally accompanies each generation, when a mixed intermarries with a pure breed. As far as our observations extend this does not hold true with intermarriages of mulattoes; for it is seldom the offspring have the color and physical properties of the parents."

"12. Man has the advantage of woman in physical power, and some mental modifications which depend upon the peculiar physical organization, and functorial powers which constitute male and female. But these advantages in the male are balanced by those of another kind possessed by the female, which place her fully upon a par with him in all communities where justice prevails over brute force, and a polite taste over brutal instinct. Man, by his superior strength, has the power of tyrannizing over

woman; but such tyranny is never exercised without inflicting a severe retribution upon those who exercise it. Women who are slaves can only be the mothers of slaves. 'Like begets like' is one of the few laws of nature applicable to organism universally. No people have ever exhibited any considerable advance in arts, sciences, and civilization, whose treatment of women has been cruel and oppressive. Nay, the gradations of advancement, or of degradation, in every thing which constitutes the glory of man may be traced, step by step, by the treatment of women among a people. From the brutal New Hollander who secures his wife by knocking her down with a club, and dragging the prize to his cave, to the polished European who fearfully, but respectfully, and assiduously, spends a probation of months, or years, for his better half, the ascent may be traced with unfailing accuracy and precision."

"13. The sluggish temperament of the Canaanites (Negroes) is manifest in their sexual relations. It is not incompatible with such a temperament that those who are characterized by it, should occasionally, or even frequently be roused to boisterous jollity. The Creator has benevolently united with the condition and destiny, the peculiar qualities adapted to such condition and destiny. The wretchedness of Africa would be beyond human endurance, if it were not for the peculiar temperament of the people, relieved by a disposition to merriment and boisterous mirth, in which no other people on the earth can rival them. It may be called the land of mirth

and jollity, as well as the land of sorrow and desolation. Sullenness is their chief refuge for privations and difficulties; boisterous jollity and song their chief resort for relief and amusement. The Shemite (White) is constitutionally calm, cheerful, dignified, benevolent, sentimental, and thoughtful. The Ishmaelite is reserved, austere, gloomy, cruel, vindictive, and voluptuous. The Japhethite is quiet, orderly, industrious, courteous, indifferent, and insincere. And the Canaanite (Negro) is indolent, careless, sensual, tyrannical, predatory, sullen, boisterous, and jovial. Such are the specific characteristics, and the sexual relations are founded upon them."

"14. Personal beauty is one of the most powerful impulses of our nature, and has a direct and positive influence upon the destiny of man, as it regards the development of his moral and intellectual faculties.

"What this personal beauty is, and its mode of operation on the different races of men are questions of primary importance in the natural history of the several species. We contend that on these two circumstances, more than on any others, depend, not only the permanent separation of the species, but the actual advance, retardation, or retrogression of any, and every species, in moral and intellectual power."

"15. The standard of beauty of a female Canaanite (Negro) may be thus described. Height, the same as the European; hair, black, wiry, and knotted; complexion, black, shining, and oily; skin

very soft and velvet like ; forehead low, narrow, and retreating ; nose flat, broad, and running into the cheeks ; eyes small, black, and lively ; face broad, with high cheek bones ; mouth large, with very thick lips, particularly the upper one ; chin small and receding ; bust large, and the figure gross ; feet large, flat, long heels, and low instep ; expression moody and sulky, or mirthful and merry, but not intellectual. Like all of the dark races, there is no standard of beauty in the males of this species, in their sexual relations. The women have no choice of husbands, and polygamy, in its utmost latitude, universally prevails. There are several varieties of the Canaanites, (Negroes,) who differ as much from each other as the varieties of other species. On the one hand, the Foolahs, and Wolofs are said to be the handsomest, and the Bosjesmen and New Hollanders the ugliest. It is strikingly obvious upon merely reading the traits which constitute the standards of personal beauty of the different species, that they present insuperable bars to an amalgamation to any extent sufficient to endanger the integrity of any one of them. The horse and the ass, the lion and the tiger, the hyena and the wolf, the goat and the sheep, are not more distinct in their species, their sexual relations, and their tastes, than the different species of the human species."

"16. It has been a favorite theory with some visionary philanthropists that intermarriages of the different species would be highly favorable to the race ; but we have never heard of any of them who was willing to commence the practice in their own

families. There is certainly no method that could possibly be devised, which would as certainly, and as expeditiously, degrade the whole human family, as amalgamation. If there is any hope for the improvement of the condition of the dark races, the history of mankind shows it can only be founded upon the preservation of the Shemitic (White) species. This is the only species endowed with any power to drag the cumbrous dark races out of the slough, in which they have been wallowing for ages. Its beneficial effects would also be very limited, both as it regards the number benefited, and the duration of it, supposing amalgamation to be in any respect beneficial. The whole Shemitic (White) race constitute but about one-fourth of mankind; consequently, if every man and woman of this race should marry one of another species, a large majority of the dark races would, nevertheless, continue to be propagated; and if the produce of these amalgamations should continue to intermarry with the full blooded dark races in the hope of improving them, the Shemitic (White) race would speedily disappear, and with it everything which ennobles mankind. Thus the only effect of amalgamation would be to destroy the Shemitic (White) race; in other words to degrade the Shemitic (White) to the Canaanite (Negro,) not to lift the Canaanite (Negro) to the Shemitic (White.) The benefit, if any, would therefore only be limited to a comparative few in number, and to the duration of only a generation or two, when it would be irretrievably lost. The descendants of the Portuguese in India, and

Africa, have been lost to the Shemitic (White) family by amalgamation."

"17. He must have read the pages of history to little purpose who cannot trace the operations of invariable laws in the progress of nations, from their earliest and rudest state, to the present day-dawn of the reign of morals and mind. It was for the barbarous Pelasgians of Greece, that Phœnicia and Egypt extended their commerce, and preserved civilization; that the shepherds conquered Egypt, and were subsequently expelled, some of whom found a home in Greece, under Cecrops and Danaus. It was for Rome, that Greece improved in arts and sciences; that Philip subverted the liberties of Greece, and Alexander conquered Egypt and Asia. It was for the Germans that Rome conquered southern Europe, and the Turks overthrew the Eastern Empire. It was for a new people, the Americans, that Europe discovered and conquered the wilds of a new world, in which the laws of progressive development are destined to be unfolded by the silent force of example, as they have previously been by the violence of arms. And for whom the British have conquered India, settled Australasia, and opened the bolted and barred gates of China, will be no problem, when our population shall have reached the Pacific. The progress of civilization and development is, and always has been, westward; and westward it will go, until it shall have drawn a belt around the globe, of such beauty and brightness as to attract the gaze and admiration of the uttermost parts of the earth."

CHAPTER X.

MORTON.

THE justly celebrated SAMUEL GEORGE MORTON, M. D., perhaps the greatest living anatomist, at least so I have heard medical men say, has carefully examined one hundred skulls taken from the catacombs of twelve different localities, and the following are the results of his investigations: *Crania Egyptiaca*, p. 3.

EGYPTIAN ETHNOGRAPHY.

"1. It was remarked by Prof. Blumenbach, fifty years ago, that a principal requisite for an inquiry such as we now propose, would be a very careful technical examination of the skulls of mummies hitherto met with, together with an accurate comparison of these skulls with the monuments. This is precisely the design I have in view in the following memoir, which I therefore commence by an analysis of the characters of all the crania now in my possession. They may be referred to two of the great races of men, the Caucasian and the Negro, although there is a remarkable disparity in the number of each. The Caucasian heads also vary so much among themselves as to present several different types of this race, which may perhaps be appropriately grouped under the following designations:

CAUCASIAN RACE.

"*Pelasgic Type*.—In this division I place those

heads which present the finest conformation as seen in the Caucasian nations of Western Asia and Middle and Southern Europe. The Pelasgic lineaments are familiar to us in the beautiful models of Grecian art which are remarkable for the volume of the head in comparison with that of the face, the large facial angle and the symmetry and delicacy of the whole osteological structure, are among the many examples of this conformation."

"2. The Semitic type, as seen in the Hebrew communities is marked by a comparatively receding forehead, long, arched, and very prominent nose, a marked distance between the eyes, a low, heavy, broad, and strong, and often harsh development of the whole facial structure.

"The Egyptian form differs from the Pelasgic in having a narrower and more receding forehead, while the face being more prominent, the facial angle is consequently less. The nose is straight or aquiline, the face angular, the features often sharp, and the hair uniformly long, soft, and curling. In this series of crania I include many of which the conformation is not appreciably different from that of the Arab and Hindoo, but I have not as a rule attempted to note the distinctions, although they are so marked as to have induced me in the early stage of the investigation, and for reasons which will appear in the sequel to group them together in the proper Egyptian form, under the provincial name of central Egyptian crania. I now, however, propose to restrict the latter term to those Caucasian communities which inhabited the Nilotic valley above

Egypt. Among the Caucasian crania are some which appear to blend the Egyptian and Pelasgic characters; these might be called Egypto-Pelasgic heads; but without making use of this term, except in a very few instances, by way of illustration, I have thought best to transfer these examples from the Pelasgic group to the Egyptian, inasmuch as they so far conform to the latter series as to be identified without difficulty.

NEGRO RACE.

“The true Negro conformation requires no comment, but it is necessary to observe that a practised eye readily detects a few heads with decidedly mixed characters, in which those of the Negro predominates.

“For these I propose the name of Negroid crania; for while the osteological development is more or less that of the Negro, the hair is long, but sometimes harsh; thus indicating that combination of features which is familiar in the mulatto grades of the present day. It is proper, however, to remark in relation to the whole series of crania, that while the greater part is readily referable to some one of the above subdivisions, there remain other examples in which the Caucasian traits predominate, but are partially blended with those of the Negro, which last modify both the structure and expression of the head and face. We proceed in the next place to analyze these crania individually, arranging them for the purpose of convenience into seven

series, according to their sepulchral localities beginning with the Necropolis of Memphis in the north.

"A. Pyramid of five steps.

"B. Saccara Generally.

"C. Front of the Brick Pyramid of Darhour.

"D. Northwest of the Pyramid of five steps.

"E. Toora on the Nile.

"Second series from the Grottoes of Maabda.

"Third series from Abydos.

"Fourth series from the Catacombs of Thebes.

"Fifth series from Koun Ombos.

"Sixth series from the Island of Beggeth, near Philæ.

"Seventh series from Debod in Nubia.

FIRST SERIES.

TWENTY-SIX SKULLS FROM THE NECROPOLIS OF MEMPHIS.

"This vast Necropolis extends from the Pyramids of Gizeh to the southern limit of Saccára, a distance of about fifteen miles. The tombs are cut in the solid rock, and frequently communicate with one another, forming a vast subterranean labyrinth. Memphis is well known to be one of the oldest, if not indeed the oldest of the Egyptian cities; and among the tombs now extant, Prof. Rosellini has found some which bear inscriptions of a date nearly two thousand years before Christ, at which period Memphis must have been a large and flourishing city. The simpler catacombs were probably constructed before the pyramids; for these last could only result from centuries of civilization, and next

to the catacombs are the oldest existing monuments of the human race.

A.—FROM THE PYRAMID OF FIVE STEPS.

“In the month of August, 1839, Mr. J. S. Perring, the distinguished engineer, discovered a *fourth* entrance to this pyramid, which was found to communicate with a recess at the southwestern corner of a large apartment described in his narrative. This communication is a horizontal gallery one hundred and sixty-six feet long, and this recess is seventy feet above the floor. ‘The southern end of the gallery,’ observes Col. Vyse, ‘was stopped up with sand; but for the length of one hundred and sixty feet from the interior it was open, and did not seem to have been previously visited, as nearly thirty mummies were found in it, apparently undisturbed. They had neither coffins nor sarcophagi; nor, with the exception of three or four, any painted decorations. They crumbled to pieces on being touched, and could not be removed. Mr. Perring, therefore, proceeded to examine them. He found them enclosed in wrappers, with pitch and bitumen, but he did not meet with any of the objects usually deposited with mummies, excepting some of the common stone idols upon the body of the female. He therefore concluded that they were the bodies of persons employed in the building.

“Fortunately for my inquiries, Mr. Gliddon was at hand when these relics were brought to light, and obtained them of Mr. Perring as a contribution to my researches. With the utmost care on Mr. Glid-

don's part, two of them reached me in safety, but the third was broken into numberless fragments. In fact, the consistence of these bones is but little firmer than unbaked clay, and the animal matter is nearly obliterated. If Mr. Perring's opinion be correct—that the persons to whom these bodies belonged were coeval with the construction of the pyramid, we may with safety regard them as the most ancient human remains at present known to us. Whether, as that gentleman suggests, they pertained to workmen employed in building the pyramid, I will not pretend to decide; but although they present indifferent intellectual developments, their conformation is that of the Caucasian race." 5.

"3. A mere glance at this group of skulls will satisfy any one accustomed to comparisons of this kind, that most of them possess the Caucasian traits in a most striking and unequivocal manner, whether we regard their form, size, or facial angle. It is, in fact, questionable whether a greater proportion of beautifully moulded heads would be found among an equal number of individuals taken at random from any existing European nation. The entire series consists of sixteen examples of the Pelasgic, and seven of the Egyptian form, a single Semitic head, one of the Negroid variety, and one of mixed conformation. Of the antiquity of these remains there can be no question; and with respect to a part of them, those from the Pyramid of Five Steps, we have evidence of a more precise character.

"These most ancient mummies appear to have been prepared with but little bitumen, and to have

undergone dessication by some primitive and simple process of embalming; such, for example, as first saturating the body in natron, and then subjecting it to heat in an oven. It is also to be remarked, that in these two heads the brain has not been removed through the nostrils, according to the general custom, for the ethmoid bone is unbroken; and the cranial contents could therefore only have been withdrawn through the foramen magnum at the base of the skull.

“This last remark also applies to sixteen other heads of this series; whence I was at first led to suppose that they could not pertain to a very remote epoch. But when we find that the oldest remains are similarly characterized, and bear in mind that the removal of the brain through the nose was a conventional part of the more perfect art of embalming, may we not suppose that this imperforate state of the cranium points to an early epoch of Egyptian history, before mankind had resorted to those elaborate methods of preserving the dead body which are so remarkable in the Theban catacombs? It has been conjectured that the proximity of the Natron lakes to the city of Memphis gave rise to the custom of embalming; and it is not an improbable supposition that the profuse employment of bitumen was a subsequent refinement of the art. This suggestion derives some support from another fact; namely, that in every instance in which I have observed the brain to have been removed through the nose, the bones and integuments are much more charged with bitumen than in the imperforate crania.

"It may, perhaps, be conjectured by some that the Pelasgic heads of this series belong to the Ptolemaic epoch, and hence pertain to the Greek inhabitants of that age; but it must be remembered that the rule of the Ptolemies lasted but about three hundred years; whereas the Egyptians themselves were the masters of Memphis, and entombed their dead in its Necropolis more than two thousand years before either the Persians or Greeks effected the conquest of the country, no less than during the period of and after these epochs of foreign domination.

"Of the sixteen adult Pelasgic skulls in this series, two or three are small; yet the whole number gives about eighty-eight cubic inches for the average internal capacity of the cranium, or size of the brain, while the mean of the facial angle is eighty degrees. The seven Egyptian crania have a mean internal capacity of eighty cubic inches, and a facial angle of seventy-seven degrees." 10.

"The succeeding table speaks for itself. It shows that more than eight-tenths of the crania pertain to the unmixed Caucasian race; that the Pelasgic form is as one to one and two-thirds, and the Semitic form one to eight, compared to the Egyptian: that one-twentieth of the whole is composed of heads in which there exists a trace of Negro and other exotic lineage:—that the Negroid conformation exists in eight instances, thus constituting about one-twentieth part of the whole; and, finally, that the series contains a single unmixed Negro. To these facts I shall briefly add the results of the observa-

tions of some authors who have preceded me in this inquiry.

“The following is a tabular view of the whole series of crania, arranged, in the first place, according to their sepulchral localities, and in the second, in reference to their national affinities:’

“ETHNOGRAPHIC TABLE OF ONE HUNDRED ANCIENT EGYPTIAN CRANIA.

Sepulchral Localities.	Number.	Egyptian.	Pelagic.	Semitic.	Mixed.	Negroid.	Negro.	Idiot.
Memphis,	26	7	16	1	1	1		
Maabdeh,	4	1	1			2		
Abydos,	4	2	1	1				
Thebes,	55	30	10	4	4	5		2
Ombos,	3	3						
Philæ,	4	2	1				1	
Debod,	4	4						
	100	49	29	6	5	8	1	2

“‘I have examined in Paris, and in the various collections of Europe,’ says Cuvier, ‘more that fifty heads of mummies, and not one amongst them presented the characters of the Negro or Hottentot.’ Two of the three mummy heads figured by Blumenbach, (Decad. Cran. Figs 1 and 31,) are unequivocally Egyptian, but the second, as that accurate observer remarks, has something of the Negro expression. The third cranium delineated in the same work, (Plate 52,) is also Caucasian, but less evidently Egyptian, and partakes, in Prof. Blumenbach’s opinion, of the ‘Hindoo form. Of the four mummies described by Soemmering, ‘two differed in no respect from the European formation; the

third had the African character of a long space marked out for the temporal muscle; the characters of the fourth are not particularized. The skulls of four mummies in the possession of Dr. Leach, of the British Museum, and casts of three others, agree with those just mentioned in exhibiting a formation not differing from the European, without any trait of the Negro character.' The two heads figured in the great French work, (*Description de L'Egypte*, Antiq. 11., pl. 49, 50,) are both decidedly Egyptian, but the second and smaller one is the most strongly marked.

"Internal capacity of the Cranium. II.—As this measurement gives the size of the brain, I have obtained it in all the crania above sixteen years of age, unless prevented by fractures, or the presence of bitumen within the skull; and this investigation has confirmed the proverbial fact of the general smallness of the Egyptian head, at least as observed in the catacombs south of Memphis. Thus, the Pelasgic crania from the latter city, give an average internal capacity of eighty-nine cubic inches; those of the same group from Thebes give eighty-six. This result is somewhat below the average of the existing Caucasian nations of the Pelasgic, Germanic, and Celtic families, in which I find the brain to be about ninety-three cubic inches in bulk. It is also interesting to observe that the Pelasgic brain is much larger than the Egyptian, which last gives an average of but eighty cubic inches; thus, as we shall hereafter see, approximating to that of the Indo-Arabian nations.*

* In my *Crania Americana*, p. 283, I have described an ingenious

"The largest head in the series measures ninety-seven cubic inches; this occurs three times, and always in the Pelasgic group. The smallest cranium gives but sixty-eight cubic inches, and this is three times repeated in the Egyptian heads from Thebes. This last is the smallest brain I have met with in any nation, with three exceptions,—a Hindoo, a Peruvian, and a Negro. The Negroid heads, it will be observed, measure, on an average, eighty cubic inches, which is below the Negro mean; while the solitary Negro head (that of a person advanced in years,) measures but seventy-three cubic inches." 20—21.

"2. The structure of the cranial bones is as thin and delicate as in the European, and a ponderous skull is of unfrequent occurrence. I make this remark with the more satisfaction, because it enables me to contest one of the observations of Herodotus; who tells us that on visiting the field of battle whereon the Egyptians had fought with the Persians, he saw the bones of the latter lying on one side, and those of their enemies on the other. He then adds, that 'the skulls of the former were so ex-

method of measuring the internal capacity of the cranium, devised by my friend, Mr. John S. Phillips. The material used for filling the skull, as there directed, was white pepper seed, which was chosen on account of its spheroidal form, and general uniformity of size. Finding, however, that considerable variation occurred in successive measurements of the skull, I substituted leaden shot, one-tenth of an inch in diameter, in place of the seeds. The skull must be completely filled by shaking it while the shot is poured in at the foramen magnum, into which the finger must be frequently pressed for the same purpose, until the various sinuosities will receive no more. When this is accomplished, the shot, on being transferred to the tube, will give the absolute capacity of the cranium, or size of the brain in cubic inches."

their heads shaved; or perhaps he might have said with more precision, closely cut. But while the priests conformed to this rule, we are certain, from the foregoing facts, that there was a diversity of usage among the other classes, which is also proved by another passage in the same historian; for he assures us that 'you see fewer bald in Egypt than in any other country.' Now, if the Egyptians of all classes kept their heads shaved, it would be difficult to ascertain, and yet more difficult to see whether they were subject to natural baldness or not.

"Again, if Herodotus had not been accustomed to observe the Egyptians wearing their hair, how could he have compared them in this respect to the people of Colchis? The same author informs us that the inhabitants of Egypt permitted their hair to grow as a badge of mourning; an observation which is everywhere corroborated in monumental funeral scenes. This observation, however, was probably for a comparatively short period, and will not account for the frequent occurrence of long hair among the mummies of all classes. It is mentioned in history that among other indignities which Cambyzes offered to the embalmed body of King Amasis, was that of tearing the hair from his head. The monuments afford abundant proof that among the Egyptians, from the highest to the lowest castes, it was not unusual to wear the hair long. The marginal drawing represents a rustic, (one of six on the monument,) who is engaged in a wrestling match. And it is hardly to be supposed that the profusion of hair with which his head is covered, can be any

other than the natural growth. A man thus occupied would find a difficulty in keeping a wig on his head. So also with another from a tomb at Thebes, wherein a carpenter of pleasing but rather effeminate physiognomy, is engaged in the labors of his art. Hamilton, in his *Ægyptiaca*, when describing the paintings at Elytheias, says that 'the laborers are dressed in a kind of skull cap, and have very little if any hair on their heads; while that of the others who superintend them spreads out at the sides, as with the Nubians and Berabera above the cataracts,'—and yet among these very laborers the hair of some is represented so long, that it projects beneath the cap and falls upon the shoulders. If I may judge from the heads that have come under my notice, I should infer that the women, as a general rule at least, allowed their hair to grow; but that the practice was much less frequent among the men. In the heads of every Caucasian type in the series now before us, the hair is perfectly distinct from the woolly texture of the Negro, the frizzled curls of the Mulatto, or the lank, straight locks of the Mongolian. Of the eight Negroid heads, four are more or less furnished with hair, one is closely shaved, and two are entirely denuded. In those which retain the hair, it is comparatively coarse, and in one instance somewhat wiry. The hair of the solitary Negro head possesses the characteristic texture. I find a short beard (perhaps half an inch in length) on three Theban heads of the Caucasian part of the series, (Plate iv., Fig. 1, Plate viii., Fig 1, and Plate x., Fig. 5.) The Egyptians habitually shaved

the beard ; but on their statues and paintings we frequently see a beard-case, which, as Rosellini remarks, appears to be merely emblematical of the male sex, and of manhood.

“ *The Teeth*.—Prof. Blumenbach, in his *Decades Craniorum*, long ago pointed out what he considered a peculiarity in the conformation of the teeth in some Egyptian mummies ; namely, that the crowns of the incisors are very large, thick, and cylindrical, or obtusely conical, in place of having the characteristic chisel like form. I have given especial attention to this supposed peculiarity ; but although the incisors remain more or less perfect in forty-five crania, embracing upwards of two hundred teeth of this class, I have not been able to confirm the preceding observation. On the contrary, there does not appear to be the smallest deviation from the ordinary form or structure ; and I feel confident that the learned Blumenbach was deceived by the worn condition of the crowns of the teeth, obviously resulting from the habitual mastication of hard substances. Mr. Lawrence expresses the same opinion, from personal observation : Dr. Pritchard inclines to a similar view of the case, and remarks, that ‘the most satisfactory method of obtaining information is by inspecting the mummies of children.’ Here, again, I have been so fortunate as to examine the crania of three children from one year old to five years, and five others between the ages of five and ten years. The result is entirely confirmatory of the opinion I have already advanced, and also coincides with the observations of Mr. Estlin. What the masticated

substances were, has not been ascertained; but the teeth of some Hindoos, even in early life, are as much worn away as those of the Egyptians. The latter, as a general rule, are remarkably free from decay, and in a number of instances the whole set remains unbroken. There are various examples in which the teeth appear to have been extracted; thus reminding us of the statement of Herodotus, that there was a class of physicians whose attention, like that of our modern dentists, was bestowed exclusively upon these organs.

“*The Nose*.—A review of the preceding anatomical details, and a glance at the accompanying delineations, will serve to show that the form of the nose in the Caucasian series was straight, or slightly aquiline, as in the Hindoo; more prominent, as in the Pelasgic tribes; and long, salient, and acquiline, as in the Arabian race, and more especially in the Semitic nations of that stock. It may be here observed, that the nasal bones have in many instances been more or less broken in forcing a passage through the ethmoid bone for the purpose of removing the brain. This operation, which appears to have been almost universally practised at Thebes, was comparatively unusual at Memphis; for of the twenty-six heads from the latter Necropolis, five only are perforated; while of the fifty-five Theban crania, all are perforated but two; and in a third the ethmoid is so little broken that the brain could not have been removed through the orifice. I moreover detect three instances of complete perforation of the nose, in which the brain had been extracted through the

represented Egyptian personages. But the Greeks, observes Maurice, called everything black that related to Egypt, not excepting the river, the soil, and even the country itself; whence the name *Ερηχονμος*—the black country of Hermes.

“Again, in reference to the statement of Herodotus, on which I have already, perhaps, too largely commented, it may be well to give the evidence of another eye-witness, that of Ptolemy the geographer, who is believed to have been born in Egypt. He wrote in the second century of our era, and his observations must consequently have been made something more than five hundred years later than those of Herodotus. His words are as follows :

“‘In corresponding situations on our side of the equator, that is to say, under the tropic of Cancer, men have not the color of Ethiopians, nor are there elephants and rhinoceros’. But a little south of this, the northern tropic, the people are moderately dark, (*ἄνθρωποι τυγχάνουσι μελανες,*) as those, for example, who inhabit the thirty Schæni, (as far as Wady Halfa, in Nubia,) above Syene. But in the country around Meroe they are already sufficiently black, and *there we first meet with pure Negroes.*”

“Here is ample evidence to prove that the natural geographical position of the Negroes was the same seventeen centuries since as it is now; and for ages antecedent to Herodotus, the monuments are perfectly conclusive on the same subject. I could, therefore, much more readily believe that the historian had never been in Egypt at all,* than admit

* Did any one ever read the Euterpe for the first time without some

the literal and unqualified interpretation of his words which has been insisted on by some, and which would class the Egyptian with the Negro race.

“On the monuments the Egyptians represent the men of their nation red, the women yellow; which leads to the reasonable inference that the common complexion was dark, in the same sense in which that term is applicable to the Arabs and other southern Caucasian nations, and varying, as among the modern Hindoos, from comparatively fair to a dark and swarthy hue. ‘Two facts,’ says Heeren, ‘are historically demonstrated; one, that among the Egyptians themselves there was a difference of color; for individuals are expressly distinguished from each other by being of a darker or lighter complexion: the other, that the higher castes of warriors and priests, wherever they are represented in colors, pertain to the fairer class.’ That the Ethiopians proper, or Meroites, were of a dark, and perhaps very dark complexion, is more than probable; and among other facts in support of this view, we find that the mother of Amunoph III., and wife of Thotmes IV., who was a Meroite princess, is painted black on the monuments. Thus the different complexions of the great divisions of the Egyptian nation must sometimes have been blended, like their physiognomical traits, even in the members of the royal family. It is not, however, to be supposed that the Egyptians were really red men, as they are repre-

misgivings of this kind? I ask this question with a profound respect for the venerable historian and traveller.”

sented on the monuments. This color, with a symbolic signification, was conventionally adopted for the whole nation, (with very rare exceptions,) from Meroe to Memphis. Thus, also, the kings of the Greek and Roman dynasties are painted of the same complexion. Prof. Rosellini supposes the Egyptians to have been of a brown, or reddish brown color, (*rosso-fosco*), like the present inhabitants of Nubia; but with all deference to that illustrious archæologist, I conceive that his remark is only applicable to the Austral-Egyptians as a group, and not to the inhabitants of Egypt proper, except as a partial result of that mixture of nations to which I have already adverted, and which will be more fully inquired into hereafter. The well known observation of Ammianus Marcellinus, ‘*Homines Ægyptii plerique subfusculi sunt, et atrati*,’ is sufficiently descriptive, and corresponds with other positive evidence, in relation to the great mass of the people; and when the author subsequently tells us that the Egyptians ‘blush and grow red,’ we find it difficult to associate these ideas with a black, or any approximation to a black skin. The late Dr. Young, in his Hieroglyphical Literature, has given a translation of a deed on papyrus, of the reign of Ptolemy Alexander I., in which the parties to a sale of land at Thebes are described in the following terms:

“ ‘Psammonthes, aged about forty-five, of middle size, dark complexion, and handsome figure, bald, round faced, and straight nosed; Snachomneus, aged about twenty, of middle size, sallow complexion,

round faced, and straight nosed; Semmuthis Persinei, aged about twenty-two, of middle size, sallow complexion, round faced, flat nosed, and of quiet demeanor; and Tathlyt Persinei aged about thirty, of middle size, sallow complexion, round face, and straight nose, the four being children of Petepsais, of the leather dressers of the Memnonia; and Nechoutes the less, the son of Azos, aged about forty, of middle size, sallow complexion, cheerful countenance, long face, and straight nose, with a scar upon the middle of the forehead.'

"In another deed of the same epoch, also translated by Dr. Young, an Egyptian named Anophris is described as 'tall, of a sallow complexion, hollow-eyed, and bald.' Independently of the value of the other physical characters preserved in these documents, the remarks on complexion have a peculiar interest; for they show that among six individuals of three different families, one only had a dark complexion, and that all the rest were sallow. From the preceding facts, and many others which might be adduced, I think we may safely conclude, that the complexion of the Egyptians did not differ from that of the other Caucasian nations in the same latitudes. That while the higher classes, who were screened from the action of a burning sun, were fair in the comparative sense, the middle and lower classes, like the modern Berbers, Arabs, and Moors, presented various shades of complexion, even to a dark and swarthy tint, which the Greeks regarded as black in comparison with their own. To these diversities must also be added others incident to a

vast servile population, derived from all the adjacent nations, among which the sable Negro stood forth in bold and contrasted characters. Dr. Wiseman, after a critical examination of the evidence in reference to this mooted question, has arrived at the following philosophical conclusion :

“It is not easy to reconcile the conflicting results thus obtained from writers and from monuments ; and it is no wonder that learned men should have differed widely in opinion on the subject. I should think the best solution is, that Egypt was the country where the Greeks most easily saw the inhabitants of interior Africa, (the Negroes,) many of whom, doubtless, flocked thither, and were settled there, or served in the army as tributaries or provincials, as they have done in later times ; *and thus they came to be confounded by writers with the country where alone they knew them, and were considered part of the indigenous population.*’ 22—29.

“3. The monuments from Meroe to Memphis, present a pervading type of physiognomy which is everywhere distinguished at a glance from the varied forms which not unfrequently attend it, and which possesses so much nationality both in outline and expression, as to give it the highest importance in Nilotic ethnography. We may repeat that it consists in an upward elongation of the head, with a receding forehead, delicate features, but rather sharp and prominent face, in which a long and straight, or gently aquiline nose forms a principal feature. The eye is sometimes oblique, the chin short and retracted, the lips rather tumid, and the

hair, whenever it is represented, long and flowing. This style of features pertains to every class, kings, priests, and people, and can be readily traced through every period of monumental decoration, from the early Pharaohs down to the Greek and Roman dynasties. Among the most ancient, and at the same time most characteristic examples, are the heads of Amunoph the second, and his mother, as represented in a tomb at Thebes, which dates, in Rosellini's chronology, seventeen hundred and twenty-seven years before our era. In these effigies all the features are strictly Egyptian, and how strikingly do they correspond with those of many of the embalmed heads from the Theban catacombs! A similar physiognomy preponderates among the royal Egyptian personages of every epoch, as will be manifest to any one who will turn over the pages of Champollion and Rosellini. The head of Horus (Plate xiv. Fig. 2,) is an admirable illustration, while in the portraits of Rameses IV., and Rameses IX., (Plate xiv., Figs. 6 and 7,) the same lines are apparent, though much less strongly marked. How admirably also are they seen in the subjoined juvenile head, (Fig. 1,) which is that of a royal prince, copied from the very ancient paintings in the tomb of Pehrai, at Elethias. So also in the face of Rameses VII., (Fig. 2,) who lived perhaps one thousand years later in time. I observe that the priests almost invariably present this physiognomy, and in accordance with the usage of their cast, have the head closely shaven. When colored they are red, like the other Egyptians. The subjoined drawing,

(No. 1,) which is somewhat harsh in outline, is from the portico of one of the pyramids of Meroe, and is probably one of the oldest human effigies in Nubia. They abound in all the temples of that country, and especially at Semneh, Dakkeh, Soleb, Gebel-Berkel, and Messouri. From the numberless examples of similar conformation, I select another of a priest from the bas-relief at Thebes, which is remarkable for delicacy of outline and pleasing serenity of expression, (No. 2.)

“In addition to the copious remarks already made in reference to the hair, we cannot omit the annexed picture from a tomb in Thebes, which represents an Egyptian woman in the act of lamentation before the embalmed body of a relative, while the long black hair reaches even below the waist. It is thus that we trace this peculiar style of countenance in its several modifications, through epochs and in localities the most remote from each other, and in every class of the Egyptian people. How different from the Pelasgic type, yet how obviously Caucasian! How varied in outline, yet how readily identified! And if we compare these features with those of the Egyptian series of embalmed heads, are we not forcibly impressed with a striking analogy, not only in osteological conformation, but also in the very expression of the face? Compare, for example, the head on page 109. Observe, also, the six figured skulls, Plate vii.; Plate xii., Fig. 4.; Plate x., Fig. 4; Plate viii., Fig. 9, and the numerous accompanying illustrations, and no one, I conceive, will question the analogy I have pointed out. This type is

certainly *national*, and presents to our view the *genuine Egyptian physiognomy*, which, in the ethnographic scale, is intermediate between the Pelasgic and Semitic forms. We may add, that this conformation is the same which Prof. Blumenbach refers to the Hindoo variety in his triple classification of the Egyptian people. And this leads us briefly to inquire, who were the Egyptians? It is in the sacred writings only, that we find any authentic records of the primeval migrations of our species. 'In the general allotment of territories to the offspring of Noah,' observes Mr. Gliddon, 'Egypt, by the concurrent testimony of all Biblical commentators, was assigned to Mizraim, the son of Ham, as a domain and for an inheritance;' whence Egypt has, from the remotest times, been called by the names of Mizraim and Ham, or *Kheme*. Mr. Gliddon adds, that 'although the name of Mizraim has not yet been found in hieroglyphic legends, there is abundant scriptural evidence to prove that the country was called Mizraim and Mitzar by the Jews; while at the present day throughout the East, Egypt and Cairo are universally known by the cognate appellation of Muss'r.' Entering Africa by the Isthmus of Suez, the children of Ham were ushered into the fertile valley of the Nile, a region prepared by nature for settled communities and a primeval civilization. In a country bounded by the Red Sea on the one side, and by a wilderness on the other, and presenting but a narrow strip of land for its inhabitants, laws would at once become necessary for mutual protection; and we may suppose

that while one portion of the Mizraimites embraced these social restrictions, another, impatient of control, passed beyond the desert barrier on the west, and spreading themselves over the north of Africa, became those nomadic tribes to which the earliest annals give the name of *LIBYANS*.

“It follows, from this view of the question, that we suppose the Egyptians and Libyans to have been cognate people; that the former were the aboriginal inhabitants of the valley of the Nile; and that their institutions, however modified by intrusive nations in after times, were the offspring of their own minds. It will, however, be very naturally objected that among the Egyptians no gradations are apparent between barbarism and refinement

“‘It is a remarkable fact,’ says Sir G. Wilkinson, ‘that the first glimpse we obtain of the history and manners of the Egyptians, shows a nation already advanced in the arts of civilized life; and the same customs and inventions that prevailed in the Augustan era of the people, after the accession of the eighteenth dynasty, are found in the remote ages of Osortasen, the contemporary of Joseph.’ How then could a branch of the Libyan, a people so comparatively obscure, have become the mighty Egyptian nation? How could families of mankind so widely different in their intellectual manifestations, have been derived from a cognate stock? To which we reply that the Egyptians and Libyans were not in this respect more widely separated than were the Saracens under the Caliphs, and the wandering Bedouins; yet, both these were branches of the

Arabian race. Egypt may perhaps be regarded as the intellectual centre of the posterity of Ham. The evidences of these opinions, it must be confessed, are as yet few in number. That the Libyan or Berber speech was once the language of all northern Africa, has long been maintained by Ritter, Heeren, and Shaler, and by Mr. Hodgson, in his very interesting letters from Algiers, during the period in which he held the United States consulate in that regency. Prof. Ritter (whose work I have not seen) asserts that the Amazirgh, or Berber language, as detected by certain prefixes and affixes peculiar to it and the Coptic tongue, is to be found across the whole breadth of the continent, from the Red Sea to the Canary Isles; and he supposes, too, that the Hazorta tribes, like the old Bejas and modern Bishareens, were originally of the same parent stock. To these evidences we may add those of Prof. Vater, who traced some affinity between the Berber and the Coptic and Amharic, but not sufficient to lead to satisfactory results. I have before me an obliging communication from Mr. Hodgson, in which he informs me, that he also discovered what he believed to be incontrovertible evidence of the Berber origin of the Bishareen language, before he had read the work of Prof. Ritter; and in an essay just published, on the Foulahs of Central Africa, he reiterates the opinion early expressed by him, that the Berber or Libyan tongue was spoken in the valley of the Nile, prior to the existence of the Coptic or Monumental language; a theory which, he

further remarks, is in accordance with the nature of things, and the probable course of events.

“ ‘ Whilst the positive records of modern history,’ observes Mr. Hodgson, ‘ shows that the Coptic tongue has been obliterated from the mass of Egypt within the short period which has elapsed since the Saracenic invasion, need we wonder that so few traces remain of the language of that country in primeval and unrecorded times? These vestiges, however, have been detected by me, and, I think, with a strong degree of probability, in the mythologic and geographical names transmitted to us from the earliest periods of Egyptian history. The meaning of Ammon, Thebes, Themis, and Nile, and of Heliopolis, (Tadij,) and Appolinopolis, (Etfu,) have been explained from the modern Berber language; and the very name of *Hykshos*, who were called shepherds, means also shepherds in Berber. These etymologies serve, at least, as tokens of the existence of the Libyans in the valley of the Nile, at a period anterior to that of the monumental Egyptians. I have, also, found grammatical affinities between the Coptic and the Berber, which suggest that the monosyllabic elements of the former have been imposed upon the Berber syntax, and, therefore, that the Coptic is posterior in nationality to the Berber.’ Leaving this important and difficult physiological inquiry to the abler hands of Mr. Hodgson, (for it involves some points on which I am not qualified to judge, and therefore offer no opinion,) we may merely remark, that the Berber theory is farther countenanced by various mytholo-

gical considerations, among the most remarkable of which is the supposed Libyan origin of several Egyptian divinities. Particular communities of the Libyans are familiar in history by the names of Mauritanians, Numidians, and Getuli.

“Respecting the physical characteristics of these people, history is nearly silent; yet there is sufficient evidence to prove, that they possessed those features which are now called Caucasian, independently of any modifications that may have resulted from their long intercourse with Phœnician colonies, and the Romans, Arabs, and Vandals, in later periods of time. The Libyans were a nomadic and warlike people; they were habitually employed in the Carthaginian armies, and in the earlier ages contended with the Egyptians themselves; for we learn from a passage in Manetho, (Cory, Frag. p. 100,) that in the remote age of Necherophes, of the third dynasty, the Libyans revolted from the Egyptians, but were soon again subdued. The monuments record similar triumphs in the reigns of Osortasen I., Thotmes I., Rameses III., and indeed in almost every dynasty down to the Ptolemaic epoch, when Libya continued to be an Egyptian province. In fact, the Libyans hung upon the skirts of Egypt, as the Goths did upon Rome; and until the researches of the hierologists identified the Hykshos or shepherd kings with an Asiatic people, there was strong presumptive evidence that these ruthless invaders were, at least in part, no other than the Libyans themselves.

“The Libyans are represented in our day by the

various and motley Berber tribes, who under the name of Tauricks, Kabyles, and Siwahs, inhabit both north and south of Mount Atlas; and in their physical characters combine the Caucasian physiognomy with various shades of complexion, from a fair skin to a dark and tawny hue. 'The Kabyles,' says Mr. Shaler, 'are a white people, of middle stature, muscular, athletic, and active, but never corpulent; and are of lively social manners, and of ingenious dispositions. Many of them are of light complexions, with hair approaching to flaxen, resembling rather the peasants of the south of Europe than the inhabitants of Africa.' Then come the darker Tauricks, men of fine mould and adventurous spirit, but nomadic, unfeeling and vindictive. Dr. Oudney, who saw them in great number, describes them in nearly similar terms, but assures us that under favorable circumstances their good sound sense would soon render them 'a shining people.' It is curious, also, to note the following remark of the same intelligent traveller: 'On almost every stone, in places they frequent, the Taurick characters are hewn out. It matters not whether the letters are written from right to left, or *vice versa*, or horizontally,' a singular accordance with the graphical system of the ancient Egyptians. It would therefore appear, that these roving descendants of the Libyan race possess, even now, some vestiges of that innate love of sculpture which was cultivated on so grand a scale by the temple builders of the Nile.

"Yet farther south are the darker Berber tribes

called Siwahs or Shouas, who are said by Major Denham to have 'free open countenances, with acquiline noses and large eyes; their complexion is a light copper color. They possess great cunning with their courage, and resemble in appearance, some of the best favored gipsies in England.' Dark as they are, he remarks that, 'in comparison with the Negresses they are almost white.' They are vastly numerous throughout all Soudan, Houssa, and Bornou, and the Sultan of the latter country has no less than fifteen thousand of them in his army. In other instances, although they are few in comparison, the Berbers assimilate more to the Negro on account of the proximity of the two races; a remark which is especially made by Dr. Oudney, in reference to the Tauricks of Mourzouk, who have black and curling hair, but which, 'from a Negro mixture, is inclined to be crispy.' Here then are the various gradations of the Caucasian type which appear to have marked the ancient Egyptians, together with a degree of that intermixture of the Negro race which is revealed in the catacombs, and perpetuated in the modern Coptic population. In connexion with this subject, it is curious to remark that the Guanches of the Canary Islands were a branch of the Berber or Libyan stock; and the singular perfection to which they brought the art of embalming, long since led to the supposition that they might have been affiliated with the Egyptians. The only Berber skull in my possession is of this insular branch of that race, and like the one figured by Prof. Blu-

menbach, bears a striking resemblance to the Egyptian conformation.

“ *The Ethiopians.*—Every one who has paid the slightest attention to the present inquiry, is aware of the entire vagueness of the name *Ethiopia* (Cush) as used by the ancients; which, like *India* in modern times, was applied to countries very remote from each other, and whose inhabitants were remarkably dissimilar. Thus Austral-Egyptians, Hindoos, Arabs, and Negroes, and even the Egyptians themselves, have each in turn been embraced in this designation. Our present inquiry, however, relates to that people who occupied the valley of the Nile, from Philæ to Meroe, and perhaps yet farther south; a region at the present time inhabited by the Nubians, Senàaree and the Abyssinians, with all those endless varieties of race which necessarily result from immemorial proximity to the Negro countries. It is a point of great interest and importance to ascertain the physical characteristics of the *aboriginal* communities of this branch of the Nilotic family; but they become at an early period so blended with exotic nations that their distinctive features must be chiefly derived from the monuments, unless the catacombs of Meroe should hereafter throw additional light on the subject.

“ Of the monumental evidence we have already spoken: we have seen that the proper Egyptian physiognomy, the same which abounds at Thebes, is everywhere conspicuous on the tombs and temples of the Meroite or monumental Ethiopians. That these people had no affinity, even in the re-

most times, to the Negro race, would appear from the evidence already adduced, and also from other facts which remain to be noticed. Among the paintings of the Grand Procession, (epoch of Thotmes IV.,) at Thebes, Mr. Hoskins remarks that the Negro is represented with all the characteristic features of his race, but that the Ethiopians are painted red like the Egyptians, having their hair dressed in curls above their foreheads, and in ringlets upon their shoulders. (Plate xiv., Fig. 22.) So also in the voyage of Scylax, B. C. 360, the Ethiopians are described as a beautiful people, with long hair and beard; and the distinguished English traveller just quoted remarks that the heads sculptured on the Pyramids of Meroe have a nearly European profile. Two of these, which are associated with the same legend, are represented by the subjoined figures. The one to the left hand (that of an unknown king) has mixed lineaments, neither strictly Pelasgic nor Egyptian; while the right hand personage, who appears to be a priest doing homage, presents a countenance which corresponds in essentials to the Egyptian type, although the profile approaches closely to the Grecian. The annexed head, also of a king, and bearing some resemblance to the one above figured, is copied from Mr. Waddington's drawing of a group over the portico of the Fifth Pyramid at Djebel Birkel, (the ancient Armada) supposed to be among the oldest sculptures in Nubia." 33—41.

"4. *The Fellahs*.—These people, also called Arab-Egyptians, are found everywhere in the valley of

the Nile, of which they are the principal cultivators. 'Their heads,' observes Mr. Lane, 'are a fine oval, the forehead of moderate size, not high, but generally prominent; their eyes are deep sunk, black and brilliant; the nose is straight and rather thick; the mouth well formed; the lips are rather full than otherwise; the teeth particularly beautiful, and the beard is commonly black and curly, but scanty. They have a yellow complexion, and are, in general, a strong, well formed people. There can be little question that the Fellahs are a mixture of the Arab stock with the old rural population of Egypt; an amalgamation which dates chiefly from the seventh century of our era, (A. D. 640,) when the Saracens under Amrou conquered the country, and separated it from the Greek empire. The constant influx of Arab population from that time to the present must have more or less modified the features of the previous inhabitants; and yet even now we are assured by Jomard and others, that the Fellahs of Upper Egypt present a striking resemblance, in all respects, to the monumental paintings and sculptures." 42.

"5. *The Pelasgic Race*.—The proofs that people of the Pelasgic stock were in early times the rulers of Egypt is attested by history and the monuments. Manetho states that the XVI. dynasty was composed 'Of thirty-two Hellenic shepherd kings, () who reigned five hundred and eighteen years.' It is not to be supposed that the number of either kings or years is accurately given: all that is necessary to our purpose is the main fact of Helle-

nic dominion in Egypt, which is moreover sustained by monumental evidence; for happily the tombs and temples preserve the portraits of the Nilotic sovereigns, executed with so much individuality of feature and expression, as to leave little doubt of the general fidelity of the likenesses. These effigies, which are now indelibly preserved in the great works of Champollion and Rosellini, present the following interesting results:

"The oldest identified human effigy now extant is that on the *Tablet of Wady Halfa*, preserved in the gallery of Florence. This venerable relic, which has been satisfactorily proved to date more than two thousand two hundred years before the Christian era, represents Osortasen the first in the form of Ammon, and receiving from the god Monthou (Mars) the people of Lybia bound with cords as captive nations. The features of the king are strictly Pelasgic; and the facial angle, (allowing for the unnatural elevation of the ear,) measures upwards of eighty degrees. It is also remarkable that this head is strikingly like those of the Ptolemaic sovereigns of Egypt, and especially corresponds in every feature with the portrait of Ptolemy Euergetes II., although eighteen centuries elapsed between their respective reigns. We therefore recur to our proposition, that whether this effigy be a portrait or not, it at least proves that the artists of those primeval times derived their ideas of the human countenance from Caucasian models. The next of these heads which can be identified with its epoch, is that of Amunoph I. This again presents a fine cast of

European features ; such, in fact, as would embellish a Grecian statue ; and yet this monarch reigned in the valley of the Nile, and held his court in Memphis more than eighteen hundred years before the birth of Christ. (Plate xiv., Fig. 1.) And if from this remote period we trace the physiognomy of kings and queens of the subsequent reigns, we perceive among them many equally beautiful models, some of which are not inferior to the *beau ideal* of classic art. Take, for example, the heads of Menepthah, and Rameses III., in the character of priest,—Rameses X., Rameses XI., and Amenmeses,—the queens Nofre-Ari, and Nitocris, and the daughter of Phisham, (or Pihmé,) the regent priest, and let me ask among what people we shall find more graceful facial lines, or more varied intellectual expression ? It may be suggested that in some of these heads the Pelasgic character is not wholly unmixed, and especially in reference to Amunoph the First. In this instance there is something of the Egyptian, or, as Prof. Blumenbach would express it, ‘the Hindoo physiognomy.’ I wish it to be understood, however, that I do not assert all these sovereigns to have been of the Pelasgic or Japhetic stock ; for some of them, as Rameses III., and Menepthah I., are on other occasions represented with decidedly Egyptian features. These mixed and varied Caucasian lineaments may perhaps have been derived from the antecedent Hellenic kings, who in giving place again to the native Egyptians, must doubtless have left their national characteristics more or less

blended with those of the indigenous families." 43—44.

"6. The same style of face is not less decidedly expressed in another head (2) from Rosellini, of which the original painting is preserved in the Royal Gallery at Florence. It represents an artisan. How admirably do the features conform to the Grecian type! I repeat the remark, and yet more emphatically, in reference to the admirable battle scene at Abousimbel, of the age of Rameses III., wherein eighty soldiers are depicted in a single group, each one bearing a shield and spear. Are they mercenaries from one of the Hellenic tribes? I select the two subjoined examples; (3) for a close resemblance pervades them all. Here again every line is Grecian; and yet when these paintings were executed, the wandering Pelasgi had hardly begun to associate themselves in civilized communities, and the arts of Greece were unknown." 45.

"7. *The Nubians*.—It seems necessary, in further elucidation of this subject, to submit a few additional facts and observations in reference to the Berbers, or present inhabitants of Nubia, in order to show their relative position to the ancient occupants of that country. As the celebrated Burckhardt saw them in almost every locality, we shall mainly content ourselves with his graphic delineation. The Berbers, says he, are of a dark red brown complexion, 'which, if the mother is a slave from Abyssinia, becomes a light brown in the children; and if from the Negro countries, extremely dark. Their features are not at all those of the Negro, the face

being oval, the nose often perfectly Grecian, and the cheek bones not prominent. The upper lip, however, is somewhat thicker than is considered beautiful among northern nations, though it is still far from the Negro lip. Their hair is bushy and strong, but not woolly.' The same intelligent traveller subsequently speaks of their language, respecting which he was certainly well qualified to judge: he assures us that the people south of Siout are ancient Bedouin tribes, who speak a very pure Arabic; and he makes a nearly similar remark respecting those who inhabit the river banks from Dongola to Senaar, and thence westward to Bornou, although they speak many different dialects. It is well known, however, that there are whole tribes in Nubia, whose language is not derived from the Arabic; and these may be more nearly allied to the primitive population.

“‘The inhabitants of Dar Dongola,’ says Dr. Ruppell, ‘are divided into two principal classes, viz: the Barabra, or *descendants of the old Ethiopian natives of the country*, and the races of Arabs who have emigrated to the Hedjar. The ancestors of the Barábra, who, in the course of centuries have been repeatedly conquered by hostile tribes, must have undergone some intermixture with people of foreign blood; yet an attentive inquiry will enable us to distinguish among them the old national physiognomy which their forefathers have marked upon colossal statues, and the bas-reliefs of temples and sepulchres. A long, oval countenance, a beautifully curved nose, somewhat rounded towards the tip,

proportionately thick lips, but not protruding excessively, a retreating chin, scanty beard, lively eyes, strongly frizzled but never woolly hair, a remarkably beautiful figure, generally of middle size, and a bronze color, are the characteristics of the genuine Dungolawi.' He adds, that the same traits of physiognomy are generally found among the Ababdé, the Bishareen, and partially among the people of Shendy and Abyssinia. It must be acknowledged, however, that we can hardly expect to find the genuine Egypto-Ethiopian lineaments in any considerable number among the modern Nubians. Placed as the former were, between the Egyptians on the north, the Indo-Arabian nations on the east, and the Negroes on the south and west, and this, too, through the long period of several thousand years, their features must have become sensibly modified, even in the earliest times, by that blending of race which was inseparable from their position; and as the Koldagi and other Negro tribes have, at different times, established themselves in large bodies in Nubia, we need be at no loss, I conceive, in accounting for any traces of Negro lineage in some Barábra communities of the present day. Dr. Prichard considers 'the descent of the modern Nubians, or Barábra, from the Nouba, (a Negro nation,) of the hill country of Kordofan, to be established as very many facts which are regarded as certain by writers on ethnography.' With every deference to that distinguished ethnographer, we may inquire what became of the pre-existing inhabitants when the tribes of Kordofan colonized Nu-

bia? Were they destroyed or expelled? History makes no mention of either; and we are justified in the opinion that an amalgamation of races took place, whence some of those diversities of organization observable in the modern Nubians. That this intermixture of races has continued to the present time, the reader will find abundant evidence in other parts of this memoir; yet I cannot here refrain from adding an observation from Cailliand, who, remarking on the shortness of life among the people of Senaar, from disease and dissipation, declares that the number of Negroes which pours into the country, and the fruitfulness of the women, are the resources which serve to repair the vast and continual waste of population.

“I may be told that this is proving too much. A sensible writer, and one who has ingeniously and instructively investigated the Nubian question, remarks as follows:—‘The Arab tribes near Shendy may still, perhaps justly, boast of the purity of their blood; but, generally speaking, within the limits mentioned above, the slave, or Negro population is about a sixth of the whole, and continually amalgamating with it. While nature kindly endeavors to wash out the stain, every caravan from the south or west pours in a new supply of slaves, and restores the blackening element.’ This author, however, in his desire to ascribe to climate the chief agency in the transformation of the Negro into the Nubian, seems to overlook the fact that while the Negroes flow into the country on the one side, the migratory Arabs invade it on the other, thus furnishing inex-

haustible materials for the blending of the two races. I fully acquiesce, as before hinted, in the accuracy of the following opinion, as applied to a large proportion of the modern Nubians, viz: 'that they are descended, not from the possessors of Ethiopia in its flourishing period, but from the prædial and slave population of the country, increased by colonists, and raised into a nation by peculiar circumstances, between the third and sixth centuries of the Christain era.' 57—59

"8. *The Negroes.*—We have the most unequivocal evidence, historical and monumental, that slavery was among the earliest of the social institutions of Egypt, and that it was imposed on all conquered nations, white as well as black. So numerous was this unfortunate class of persons, that it was the boast of the Egyptian kings, recorded by Diodorus, that the vast structures of Luxor and Karnak were erected by the labor of foreigners alone. Of Negro slavery, in particular, the paintings and sculptures give abundant illustration. 'Black people,' says Sir G. Wilkinson, 'designated as natives of the *foreign land* of Cush, are generally represented on the Egyptian monuments as captives or bearers of tribute to the Pharaohs;' and the attendant circumstances of this inhuman traffic appear to have been much the same in ancient as in modern times. It is curious, also, in a numerical point of view, to observe that Arrian, who wrote in the second century, gives three thousand as the number of Negroes annually brought down the Nile in his time; while Madden, writing in our own day, and

consequently sixteen hundred years later than Arrian, estimates the present number in nearly the same words. If it be allowable to make these data the basis of calculation for the past thirty-five centuries, it will follow that upwards of ten millions of Negroes have been brought as bondsmen into Egypt during that period. This I regard a reasonable calculation; for in the present wasted and depopulated condition of the country, the demand for servants and slaves must be far below what it was in the flourishing epoch of the Pharaohs. This vast influx of Negroes into the valley of the Nile must necessarily have left its impression on the physical traits of the Egyptians themselves; in modern times, as seen in the Copts, and in more distant periods, as proved by the Negroid heads, in which both the configuration and expression are too obvious to be mistaken. But it may be inquired, how does it happen that Negroes or their descendants should be found in the catacombs, if they constituted a menial or slave caste in Egypt? In reply, it may be observed that persons of this race have been capable, in all ages, of elevating themselves to posts of distinction in the East, and especially and proverbially those who have belonged to the class of eunuchs. It is also important to observe, that so tenacious were the Egyptians of the rights of their offspring, that they admitted them to equal privileges with themselves, *even when the mother was a slave*; and these usages extended to inheritance. The preceding facts, without multiplying more on the same subject, amply account for that interminable amal-

gamation of the Caucasian and Negro races which has been going on in Egypt from the remotest times; while they also explain that incidental social elevation of the Negro caste, to which the monuments and catacombs alike bear witness. This blending of races is farther illustrated in the present population of Nubia. The traveller Burekhardt remarks that the slaves sent down the Nile, and those transported to Arabia, bear but a small proportion to the number kept by the Mahommedans of the more southern countries of Africa. At Shendy, for example, from one to six are seen in every family; and the custom prevails as far as Senaar, and westward to Kordofan, Darfour, and Bornou. All the Bedouin tribes who inhabit or surround these countries are well stocked with slaves, nor does the number diminish in the very remote provinces of Houssa and Begarmeh; and we are told by the same intelligent observer, that the result of this promiscuous intercourse is a mixed progeny, which blends the characteristics of the Arab with those of the Negro. Negroes are abundantly represented on the pictorial delineations of the Egyptian monuments of every epoch. Complexion, features, and expression, these and every other attribute of the race, are depicted precisely as we are accustomed to see them in our daily walks: indeed, were we to judge by the drawings alone, we might suppose them to have been executed but yesterday; and yet some of these vivid delineations are nearly three thousand five hundred years old! and, moreover, as if to enforce the distinction of

race by direct contrast, they are placed side by side with people of the purest Caucasian features. The delineations of the Negro which are supposed to be of the most ancient date have not yet been identified with the epoch to which they belong. Such are those in a tomb at Thebes, of the age of Amontu-onch, an 'unplaced king,' who is supposed to date prior to the sixteenth dynasty, and consequently more than two thousand years before Christ. There is, however, a difference of opinion on this point; but we can refer with confidence and certainty to the celebrated 'Procession' of the age of Thotmes IV., at Thebes, in which Negroes are represented as tribute-bearers to that monarch, at a period which dates about seventeen hundred years before our era. Sir G. Wilkinson describes a painting in a catacomb at Thebes of the age of Amunoph III., in which that personage, seated on his throne, receives the homage and tribute of various nations. Among these are represented several 'black chiefs of Cush, or Ethiopia,' whose presents consist of rings of gold, bags of precious stones, 'a cameleopard, panthers, skins, and long horned cattle, whose heads are strangely ornamented with the hands and heads of Negroes.' The author justly adds that the latter effigies were probably artificial; for the people of Cush would scarcely have decapitated their own people to adorn their offerings to a foreign prince: yet at the same time these melancholy symbols were obviously designed to express the most abject self-abasement and vassalage. Other Negro delineations, which can be identified with the age to which

they belong, are found on the monuments of Horus, Rameses II., Rameses III., &c., in various places in Egypt and Nubia; and the first of these kings, (who dates with the nineteenth dynasty,) is represented standing on a platform, which is supported by prostrate Negroes. For the purpose of illustration, we select a single picture from the temple (hemispeos) of Beyt-el-Walee, in Nubia, in which Rameses II. is represented in the act of making war upon the Negroes; who, overcome with defeat, are flying in consternation before him. From the multitude of fugitives in this scene, (which has been vividly copied by Champollion and Rosellini, and which I have compared in both,) I annex a facsimile group of nine heads, which, while they preserve the national features in a remarkable degree, present also considerable diversity of expression. The hair on some other figures of this group is dressed in short and separate tufts, or inverted cones, precisely like those now worn by the Negroes of Madagascar, as figured in Botteller's voyage. In the midst of the vanquished Africans, seated in his car, and urging on the conflict, is Rameses himself; whose manly and beautiful countenance will not suffer by comparison with the finest Caucasian models. The annexed outline, (for all the figures are represented in outline only,) will enable the reader to form his own conclusions respecting this extraordinary group, which is believed to date about fifteen hundred and seventy years before the Christian era." 59—62.

CONCLUSIONS.

"1. The valley of the Nile, both in Egypt and in Nubia, was originally peopled by a branch of the Caucasian race.

"2. These primeval people, since called Egyptians, were the Mizraimites of Scripture, the posterity of Ham, and directly affiliated with the Libyan family of nations.

"3. In their physical character, the Egyptians were intermediate between the Indo-European and Semitic races.

"4. The Austral-Egyptian or Meroite communities were an Indo-Arabian stock engrafted on the primitive Libyan inhabitants.

"5. Besides these exotic sources of population, the Egyptian race was at different periods modified by the influx of the Caucasian nations of Asia and Europe,—Pelasgic, or Hellenes, Scythians, and Phœnicians.

"6. Kings of Egypt appear to have been incidentally derived from each of the above nations.

"7. The Copts, in part at least, are a mixture of the Caucasian and the Negro, in extremely variable proportions.

"8. Negroes were numerous in Egypt, but their social position in ancient times was the same that it now is, that of servants and slaves.

"9. The national characteristics of all these families of Man are distinctly figured on the monuments; and all of them, excepting the Scythians and Phœnicians, have been identified in the catacombs.

"10. The present Fellahs are the lineal and least mixed descendants of the ancient Egyptians; and the latter are collaterally represented by the Tauricks, Kabyles, Siwahs, and other remains of the Libyan family of nations.

"11. The modern Nubians, with a few exceptions, are not the descendants of the monumental Ethiopians, but a variously mixed race of Arabs and Negroes.

"12. Whatever may have been the size of the *cartilaginous* portion of the ear, the osseous structure conforms in every instance to the usual relative position.

"13. The Teeth differ in nothing from those of other Caucasian nations.

"14. The Hair of the Egyptians resembled, in texture, that of the fairest Europeans of the present day.

"15. The physical or organic characters which distinguish the several races of men, are as old as the oldest records of our species.

"NOTE.—I have taken frequent occasion to quote the opinions of the late Prof. Blumenbach, of Göttingen, whose name is inseparably connected with the science of Ethnography; but I have to regret that up to the present time I have not been able to procure, either in this country or from Europe, the last two memoirs which embrace his views on Egyptian subjects, and especially the work entitled, 'Specimen historiæ naturalis antiquæ artis operibus illustratæ.' His views, however, as previously given to the world, have been repeatedly adverted

to in these pages; and his matured and latest observations, as quoted by Dr. Wiseman, appear to have confirmed his original sentiments. 'In 1808,' says Dr. Wiseman, 'he more clearly expressed his opinion that the monuments prove the existence of *three distinct forms* or physiognomies among the ancient inhabitants of Egypt. Three years later he entered more fully into this inquiry, and gave the monuments, which he thought bore him out in this hypothesis. The first of these *forms* he considers to approach to the Negro model, the second to the Hindoo, the third to the Berber, or ordinary Egyptian head. (Betrage zur Naturgeschichte, 2 ter Th. 1811.) But I think an unprejudiced observer will not easily follow him so far. The first head has nothing in common with the *Black race*, but is only a coarser representation of the Egyptian type; the second is only its mythological or ideal purification.' *Lectures on the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion*, 2d edit. p. 100. I thus place side by side the opinions of these learned men. With respect to Prof. Blumenbach, I may add that when he wrote on Egyptian ethnography, there were no *fac-simile* copies of the monuments, such as have since been given to the world by the French and Tuscan commissions; and again, that learned author had not access to a sufficient number of embalmed heads to enable him to compare these with the monumental effigies. With these lights he would at once have detected *an all-pervading physiognomy which is peculiarly and essentially EGYPTIAN*; and in respect to which all the other forms,

—Pelasgic, Semitic, *Hindu*, and Negro are incidental and subordinate; sometimes, it is true, represented with the attributes of royalty, but for the most part depicted as foreigners, enemies, and bondsmen. With Egyptian *statuary* I am little acquainted. The only four years of my life which were spent in Europe were devoted almost exclusively to professional pursuits; and the many remains of Egyptian art which are preserved in the British and Continental museums, have left but a vague impression on my memory. How invaluable to Ethnography are the two statues of the First Osortasen, now in the Royal Cabinet of Berlin! These I have not seen, nor the memoir in which Dr. Lepsius has described them."

CHAPTER XI.

ENGLISH.

[*Extracts from a letter, received by the compiler of this work, from THOMAS DUNN ENGLISH, M. D., Physician-in-Chief to the Western Clinical Hospital; Corresponding Secretary, and Emeritus Counsellor of the Medico-Chirurgical College of Philadelphia, and member of various other learned societies.*]

“ANATOMY, physiology, and microscopy concur in proving that the Negro is of a distinct and inferior species to the Caucasian; and history confirms the evidence furnished by the investigation of the natural philosopher. The unvarying color of the hair—the distinctive mark of all animals incapable of civilization—as well as the peculiarity of its structure; the volume, shape, and weight of the brain, inferior to that of the dominant species, and the half brute-like character of the physiognomy, and general formation, are evidences not to be disregarded by the careful and conscientious philosopher. Neither in ancient nor modern times has the Negro, even when placed under the most favorable circumstances, achieved anything of moment. The steady advance of the white species meets with no parallel in the black. The latter has proved itself, when left to itself, to be incapable of progress. Even when taught by a superior species, it soon retrogrades to hopeless barbarism. To give it dominance is to extinguish agriculture, destroy the mechanic arts, and

root out science. Such an apparent exception as may be seen in Liberia, gladly as the philanthropist may hail it, proves only the power given by the infusion of other blood. The mulattoes there, as here, have the most intellectual force. When these wear out, as they will in time, a recurrence to the characteristics of the predominant original race, will reintroduce barbarism—unless, indeed, this calamity be averted by a renewed amalgamation. Nor do the isolated cases of Negro smartness, in this country, prove anything more than the value of Caucasian admixture. I doubt much whether there be a pure Negro in the whole United States of America. Where such a one is found, he will also be found to be, body and soul, a barbarian. Nature has marked by unerring lines, the distinction between the species; and her tokens cannot be wiped out by either the sophistry of the Negrophilist, or the cant of the fanatic. The manifest moral, intellectual, and physical inferiority of the Negro issues from the decree of God, which no efforts of man can either alter or abrogate. Even modification must be but partial, at least. It is the destiny of the Negro, if by himself, to be a savage; if by the white, to be a serf. He may be a savage in name and in fact, as in Africa, or in fact only, as in Hayti; he may be a serf, in name and in fact, as in the Southern States, or in fact only, as in the Northern States; but savage or serf he must be.

“No man who values himself, who has any regard for sound morality, or who feels any desire to see intellectual progress made certain, can join in

the absurd attempt to raise the Negro to his own level. A movement for such ends is necessarily impotent, and can only result, at the best for the Negro, in the degradation of the white. Kindness to these unfortunate beings is the duty of every man. They may be styled human beings, though of an inherently degraded species. To relieve them from their natural inferiority is idle of itself, and may be mischievous in its results. Calculated as it is to arouse evil passions, it may one day provoke a necessity, not to be contemplated without horror. It may lead to a war between the species, which will result in the extirpation of the Negro. True philanthropy—not that sickly sentiment which neglects the interest of the white laborer to cant about the black—but a true and honest regard for the best interests of mankind, will maintain the Negro undisturbed in the relation which God has marked out for him.

“The inefficiency of the Negro in any occupation requiring intellectual capacity, is manifest to any unprejudiced observer. But his inferiority extends even farther than this. The black never makes even a good laborer. He lacks the mind which animates, guides, and cheers the toil of the white. Let the white and the black dig together in the trench, and the superiority of the former shows itself in a palpable manner. He works as a machine—unerringly, so long as the machinist directs him, but uncertainly, when the directing power is withdrawn. As an economical laborer he is inferior. His energies are ill-directed. They

lack the judgment which elevates. They are solely those of the 'hewer of wood and the drawer of water.' Of the great divisions of the human family, the white alone is capable of perfect civilization; other races move to a point, whereat they stop, but the Negro never can pass beyond barbarism, nor take a higher position than that of an intermediate step, upon which nature advances from the brute to the human being."

CHAPTER XII.

JEFFERSON.

THE following extract from "Jefferson's Notes on Virginia" deserves a place in this book; his knowledge of human nature, and the opportunities he had of observing the Negro enabled him to form a sound and important opinion of that race.

"It will probably be asked, Why not retain and incorporate the blacks into the state, and thus save the expense of supplying by importation of white settlers, the vacancies they will leave? Deep rooted prejudices entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections, by the blacks, of the injuries they have sustained; new provocations; the real distinctions which nature has made; and many other circumstances, will divide us into parties, and produce convulsions, which will probably never end but in the extermination of the one or the other race. To these objections, which are political, may be added others, which are physical and moral. The first difference which strikes us is that of color. Whether the black of the Negro resides in the reticular membrane between the skin and scarf skin, or in the scarf skin itself; whether it proceeds from the color of the blood, the color of the bile, or from that of some other secretion, the difference is fixed in nature, and is as real as if its seat and cause were better known to us. And is this difference of no importance? Is it not the foundation of a greater or less share of beauty in the two races? Are not the

fine mixtures of red and white, the expressions of every passion by greater or less suffusions of color in the one, preferable to that eternal monotony which reigns in the countenances, that immovable veil of black which covers all the emotions of the other race? Add to these, flowing hair, a more elegant symmetry of form, their own judgment in favor of the whites, declared by their preference of them, as uniformly as is the preference of the Oranootan for the black women over those of his own species. The circumstance of superior beauty is thought worthy of attention in the propagation of our horses, dogs, and other domestic animals; why not in that of man? Besides those of color, figure, and hair, there are other physical distinctions proving a difference of race. They have less hair on the face and body. They secrete less by the kidneys, and more by the glands of the skin, which gives them a very strong and disagreeable odor. This greater degree of transpiration renders them more tolerant of heat, and less so of cold than the whites. Perhaps, too, a difference of structure in the pulmonary apparatus, which a late ingenious* experimentalist has discovered to be the principal regulator of animal heat may have disabled them from extricating, in the act of inspiration, so much of that fluid from the outer air, or obliged them in expiration to part with more of it. They seem to require less sleep. A black, after hard labor through the day, will be induced by the slightest amusements to sit up till midnight, or later, though knowing he must be out

* * Crawford."

with the first dawn of the morning. They are at least as brave, and more adventuresome. But this may perhaps proceed from a want of forethought, which prevents their seeing a danger till it be present. When present, they do not go through it with more coolness or steadiness than the whites. They are more ardent after their female: but love seems with them to be more an eager desire, than a tender delicate mixture of sentiment and sensation. Their griefs are transient. Those numberless afflictions, which render it doubtful whether heaven has given life to us in mercy or in wrath, are less felt, and sooner forgotten with them. In general, their existence appears to participate more of sensation than reflection. To this must be ascribed their disposition to sleep when abstracted from their diversions, and unemployed in labor. An animal whose body is at rest, and who does not reflect, must be disposed to sleep of course. Comparing them by their faculties of memory, reason, and imagination, it appears to me, that in memory they are equal to the whites; in reason much inferior, as I think one could scarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the investigations of Euclid; and that in imagination they are dull, tasteless, and anomalous. It would be unfair to follow them to Africa for this investigation. We will consider them here, on the same stage with the whites, and where the facts are not apochryphal on which a judgment is to be formed. It will be right to make great allowances for the difference of condition, of education, of conversation, of the sphere in which they move. Many millions of them

have been brought to, and born in America. Most of them, indeed, have been confined to tillage, to their own homes, and their own society: yet many have been so situated, that they might have availed themselves of the conversation of their masters; many have been brought up to the handicraft arts, and from that circumstance have always been associated with the whites. Some have been liberally educated, and all have lived in countries where the arts and sciences are cultivated to a considerable degree, and have had before their eyes samples of the best works from abroad. The Indians, with no advantages of this kind, will often carve figures on their pipes, not destitute of design and merit. They will crayon out an animal, a plant, or a country, so as to prove the existence of a germ in their minds which only wants cultivation. They astonish you with strokes of the most sublime oratory; such as prove their reason and sentiment strong, their imagination glowing and elevated. But never yet could I find that a black had uttered a thought above the level of plain narration; never saw even an elementary trait of painting or sculpture. In music they are more generally gifted than the whites with accurate ears for tune and time, and they have been found capable of imagining a small catch.* Whether they will be equal to the composition of a more extensive run of melody, or of complicated harmony, is yet to be proved. Misery is often the

* The instrument proper to them is the Banjar, which they brought hither from Africa, and which is the original of the guitar, its chords being precisely the four lower chords of the guitar."

parent of the most affecting touches in poetry. Among the blacks is misery enough, God knows, but no poetry. Love is the peculiar æstrum of the poet. Their love is ardent, but it kindles the senses only, not the imagination. Religion indeed has produced a Phyllis Whately; but it could not produce a poet. The compositions published under her name are below the dignity of criticism. The heroes of the Dunciad are to her, as Hercules to the author of that poem. Ignatius Sancho has approached nearer to merit in composition; yet his letters do more honor to the heart than the head. They breathe the purest effusions of friendship and general philanthropy, and show how great a degree of the latter may be compounded with strong religious zeal. He is often happy in the turn of his compliments, and his style is easy and familiar, except when he affects a Shandean fabrication of words. But his imagination is wild and extravagant, escapes incessantly from every restraint of reason and taste, and, in the course of its vagaries, leaves a tract of thought as incoherent and eccentric as is the course of a meteor through the sky. His subjects should often have led him to a process of sober reasoning: yet we find him always substituting sentiment for demonstration. Upon the whole, though we admit him to the first place among those of his own color who have presented themselves to the public judgment, yet when we compare him with the writers of the race among whom he lived, and particularly with the epistolary class, in which he has taken his own stand, we are compelled to

enrol him at the bottom of the column. This criticism supposes the letters published under his name to be genuine, and to have received amendment from no other hand; points which would not be of easy investigation. The improvement of the blacks in body and mind, in the first instance of their mixture with the whites, has been observed by every one, and proves that their inferiority is not the effect merely of their condition of life. We know that among the Romans, about the Augustan age especially, the condition of their slaves was much more deplorable than that of the blacks on the continent of America. The two sexes were confined in separate apartments, because to raise a child cost the master more than to buy one. Cato, for a very restricted indulgence to his slaves in this particular,* took from them a certain price. But in this country the slaves multiply as fast as the free inhabitants. Their situation and manners place the commerce between the two sexes almost without restraint. The same Cato, on a principle of economy, always sold his sick and superannuated slaves. He gives it as a standing precept to a master visiting his farm, to sell his old oxen, old wagons, old tools, old and diseased servants, and every thing else become useless. 'Vendat boves vetulos, plastrum vetus, fermenta vetera, servum senem, servum morbosum, et si quid aliud supersit vendat.' Cato de re rustica, c. 2. The American slaves cannot enumerate this among the injuries and insults they receive. It

* "Tous doulous etaxen orismenou nomesmotos homilein tais therapainsin. Plutarch, Cato."

was the common practice to expose in the island Æsculapius, in the Tiber, diseased slaves, whose cure was like to become tedious.* The Emperor Claudius, by an edict, gave freedom to such of them as should recover, and first declared that if any person chose to kill rather than expose them, it should be deemed homicide. The exposing them is a crime of which no instance has existed with us; and were it to be followed by death, it would be punished capitally. We are told of a certain Vedius Pollio, who, in the presence of Augustus, would have given a slave as food to his fish, for having broken a glass. With the Romans, the regular method of taking the evidence of their slaves was under torture. Here it has been thought better never to resort to their evidence. When a master was murdered, all his slaves, in the same house, or within hearing, were condemned to death. Here punishment falls on the guilty only, and as precise proof is required against him as against a freeman. Yet notwithstanding these and other discouraging circumstances among the Romans, their slaves were often their rarest artists. They excelled too, in science, insomuch as to be usually employed as tutors to their master's children. Epictetus, Terence, and Phædrus were slaves. But they were of the race of whites. It is not their condition then, but nature, which has produced the distinction. Whether further observation will or will not verify the conjecture, that nature has been less bountiful to them in the endowments of the head, I believe that in those of the heart she

* Suet. Claud. 25."

will be found to have done them justice. That disposition to theft with which they have been branded, must be ascribed to their situation, and not to any depravity of the moral sense. The man, in whose favor no laws of property exist, probably feels himself less bound to respect those made in favor of others. When arguing for ourselves, we lay it down as a fundamental, that laws, to be just, must give a reciprocation of right; that, without this, they are mere arbitrary rules of conduct, founded in force, and not in conscience: and it is a problem which I give to the master to solve, whether the religious precepts against the violation of property were not framed for him as well as his slave? And whether the slave may not as justifiably take a little from one who has taken all from him, as he may slay one who would slay him? That a change in the relations in which a man is placed should change his ideas of moral right or wrong, is neither new, nor peculiar to the color of the blacks. Homer tells us it was so twenty-six hundred years ago.

“*Ἐμὸν γὰρ τ' ἀρετὴς ἀποαινύται ἐννοσιὰ Ζεὺς
 Ἥαντος ἐντ' αἷ' μὴ κοτὰ δούλιον ἔμα λείσιν.*”

[*Od.* 17. 323.]

“*Jove fix'd it certain, that whatever day
 Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away.*”

“But the slaves of which Homer speaks were whites. Notwithstanding these considerations, which must weaken their respect for the laws of property, we find among them numerous instances of the most rigid integrity, and as many as among their better instructed masters, of benevolence, grati-

tude, and unshaken fidelity. The opinion, that they are inferior in the faculties of reason and imagination, must be hazarded with great diffidence. To justify a general conclusion, requires many observations, even where the subject may be submitted to the anatomical knife, to optical glasses, to analysis by fire, or by solvents. How much more, then, where it is a faculty, not a substance, we are examining; where it eludes the research of all the senses; where the conditions of its existence are various and variously combined; where the effects of those which are present or absent bid defiance to calculation; let me add, too, as a circumstance of great tenderness, where our conclusion would degrade a whole race of men from the rank in the scale of beings which their Creator may perhaps have given them. To our reproach it must be said, that though for a century and a half we have had under our eyes the races of black and of red men, they have never yet been viewed by us as subjects of natural history. I advance it therefore as a suspicion only, that the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind. It is not against experience to suppose, that different species of the same genus, or varieties of the same species, may possess different qualifications. Will not a lover of natural history then, one who views the gradations in all the races of animals with the eye of philosophy, excuse an effort to keep those in the department of man as distinct as nature has formed them? This unfortunate difference of

color, and, perhaps, of faculty, is a powerful obstacle to the emancipation of these people. Many of their advocates, while they wish to vindicate the liberty of human nature are anxious also to preserve its dignity and beauty. Some of these, embarrassed by the question, 'What further is to be done with them?' join themselves in opposition with those who are actuated by sordid avarice only. Among the Romans emancipation required but one effort. The slave, when made free, might mix with, without staining the blood of his master. But with us a second is necessary, unknown to history. When freed, he is to be removed beyond the reach of mixture."

CHAPTER XIII.

CUVIER.

"1. EVERY organized body, independently of the qualities common to its tissue, has a form peculiar to itself, not merely general and external, but extending to the detail of the structure of each of its parts; and it is upon this form, which determines the particular direction of each of the partial movements that take place in it, that depends the complication of the general movement of its life—it constitutes its species and renders it what it is. Each part co-operates in this general movement by a peculiar action, and experiences from its particular effects, so that in every being life is a whole, resulting from the mutual action and reaction of all its parts.

"Life, then, in general, presupposes organization in general, and the life proper to each individual being presupposes an organization peculiar to that being, just as the movement of a clock presupposes the clock; and accordingly we behold life only in beings that are organized and formed to enjoy it, and all the efforts of philosophy have never been able to discover matter in the act of organization, neither *per se*, nor by any external cause. In fact, life exercising upon the elements which at every moment form part of the living body, and upon those which it attracts to it, an action contrary to that which, without it, would be produced by the usual chemical affinities, it seems impossible that it can be pro-

duced by these affinities, and yet we know of no other power in nature capable of re-uniting previously separated molecules.

“The birth of organized beings is, therefore, the greatest mystery of the organic economy and of all nature: we see them developed, but never being formed; nay more, all those whose origin we can trace, have at first been attached to a body similar in form to their own, but which was developed before them—in a word, to a *parent*. So long as the offspring has no independent existence, but participates in that of its parent, it is called a *germ*.

“The place to which the germ is attached, and the cause which detaches it, and gives it an independent life, vary; but this primitive adhesion to a similar being is a rule without exception. The separation of the germ is called *generation*.

“Every organized being reproduces others that are similar to itself, otherwise, death being a necessary consequence of life, the species would become extinct.

“Organized beings have even the faculty of reproducing, in degrees varying with the species, particular parts of which they may have been deprived—this is called the *power of reproduction*.

“The development of organized beings is more or less rapid, and more or less extended, as circumstances are more or less favorable. Heat, the abundance and species of nutriment, with other causes, exercise great influence, and this influence may extend to the whole body in general, or to certain organs in particular: thence arises the impossibility

of a perfect similitude between the offspring and parent.

“Differences of this kind, between organized beings, form what are termed *varieties*.

“There is no proof, that all the differences which now distinguish organized beings, are such as may have been produced by circumstances. All that has been advanced upon this subject is hypothetical. Experience, on the contrary, appears to prove, that, in the actual state of the globe, varieties are confined within rather narrow limits, and go back as far as we may, we still find those limits the same.

“We are thus compelled to admit of certain forms, which, from the origin of things, have perpetuated themselves without exceeding these limits, and every being appertaining to one or other of these forms constitutes what is termed a *species*. *Varieties* are accidental subdivisions of species.

“Generation being the only means of ascertaining the limits to which varieties may extend, species should be defined—*the reunion of individuals descended one from the other, or from common parents, or from such as resemble them as strongly as they resemble each other*. But although this definition is strict, it will be seen that its application to particular individuals may be very difficult, where the necessary experiments have not been made.

“Thus then it stands—absorption, assimilation, exhalation, development, and generation, are functions common to all living bodies; birth and death the universal limits of their existence; an areolar contractile tissue, containing within it laminæ fluids

or gases in motion, the general essence of it structure; substances, almost all susceptible of conversion into fluids or gases, and combinations capable of an easy and mutual transformation, the basis of their chemical composition. Fixed forms that are perpetuated by generation distinguish their species, determine the complication of the secondary functions proper to each of them, and assign to them the parts they are to play on the great stage of the universe. These forms are neither produced nor changed by their own agency—life supposes their existence, its flame can only be kindled in an organization already prepared, and the most profound meditation, and lynx-eyed and delicate observation can penetrate no further than the mystery of the pre-existence of germs.” 7—8.

VARIETIES OF THE HUMAN SPECIES.*

“2. Although the promiscuous intercourse of the

“* Notwithstanding the high character of Cuvier as a founder of classes, yet the arrangement established by Blumenbach of the varieties of the human species has been universally adopted. In this classification the varieties are five, viz:

“I. *The Caucasian*, which comprehends the ancient and modern inhabitants of Europe, the Western Asiatics, or those of this side of the Caspian Sea, and of the rivers Obi and the Ganges, together with the Northern Africans. The characters of this race are as follows: The head is nearly the figure of a globe; the forehead is high and expanded; the cheek bones are without prominences; the nose is narrow and slightly aquiline; the face is oval and straight; the mouth small, with lips slightly everted; the skin is white, and the cheeks florid; the hair is long, soft, and shining, and varies in color, from a nut brown to the deepest black. There are thirty-eight crania of this variety in the Hunterian Museum, London College of Surgeons. (See Plate I., *Mammalia*, Fig. 1. The portrait of Jesuf Aguiah Efendi, a Turk, and once Ambassador from the Sublime Porte at the Court of London.)

human species which produces individuals capable of propagation, would seem to demonstrate its unity,

"II. *The Mongolian*, commonly called the Tartarian, takes in the Finnish tribes inhabiting the colder parts of the north of Europe, such as the Laplanders and Esquimaux, and also the Asiatics not included in the Caucasian variety, so that it comprehends the Chinese, but not the Malays. The head approximates to a quadrilateral figure; the face broad, and flattened, so that the parts appear to run into each other; the nose is small and flat, and the space between the eyes flat and broad; the cheek bones are rounded and projecting; the aperture made by the eye-lids is narrow, and its line extends towards the temples, the internal angle of the eye being depressed towards the nose, and the upper eye-lid being at that angle continued into the lower one by a rounded sweep; the skin is pale olive, and the hair is thin, black, stiff, and straight. There are nine crania of this variety in the Hunterian Museum. (See Plate I. *Mammalia*, Fig. 2. The portrait of Feodor Iwanowitsch, a Calmuck, who was sent, when young, by the Empress of Russia to the Hereditary Princess of Baden, was educated at Carlsruhe, and became a famous engraver at Rome.)

"III. *The Ethiopian*, consists of all the Africans not included in the Caucasian division, and these partake more or less of the Negro character. The front of the head is compressed laterally, and looks as if the forehead were removed, being, in this respect, a perfect contrast with the globular form of the head in the Caucasian variety. The entire cranium is contracted anteriorly, its cavity is considerably lessened; the foramen magnum, and the condyles at its circumference, are placed farther back towards the occipital region; there is great development of the face, and great prominence of the jaws, particularly of their alveolar margins and teeth, the upper incisors are oblique; the chin recedes, and the zygomatic arch projects towards the front; the skin is brown, black, and sometimes yellow, and the hair is deep black, crisp, and curly. There are ten crania of this variety in the Hunterian Museum. (See Plate I., *Mammalia*, Fig. 3. The portrait of J. J. E. Capitein, a Negro, who received holy orders in Holland.)

"IV. *The American* includes all the inhabitants of the vast continent of North and South America, excepting those of the northern part of the continent, and some of the islands, particularly the Caribbees. The cheeks are broad, but the molar bones are more rounded and arched than in the Mongolian race; the forehead is small and low; the orbits of the eye are unusually deep, and the nasal cavity is very large. The Caribs were in the habit of lowering the forehead by employing artificial pressure on the head in early infancy; hence, in this community, the characteristic

certain hereditary peculiarities of conformation are observed, which constitute what are termed *races*.

“Three of them in particular, appear very distinct—the *Caucasian* or white, the *Mongolian* or yellow, and the *Ethiopian* or Negro.

“The Caucasian, to which we belong, is distinguished by the beauty of the oval formed by his head, varying in complexion and the color of the hair. To this variety, the most highly civilized nations, and those which have generally held all others in subjection, are indebted for their origin.

“The Mongolian is known by his high cheek bones, flat visage, narrow and oblique eyes, straight black hair, scanty beard, and olive complexion. Great empires have been established by this race in China and Japan, and their conquests been extended to this side of the Great Desert. In civilization, however, it has always remained stationary.

“The Negro race is confined to the south of Mount Atlas; it is marked by a black complexion,

feature of the American variety, the low forehead, is much more strikingly marked than in any other class of Americans. There are five crania of this variety in the Hunterian Museum. (See Plate I., *Mammalia*, Fig. 4. The portrait of Thay Endaneega, a chief of the Mohawks or Six Nations.

“V. *The Malay* embraces the whole of the natives of the numerous Asiatic islands, and of those of the Pacific ocean, New Zealand, New Holland, &c. Their head is moderately narrowed; the forehead is slightly arched; the face is large, and all its parts are fully developed; the jaws are more or less prominent; the skin is tawny, or clear mahogany or chestnut brown; the hair is black, soft, and curled. There are thirty-four crania of this variety in the Hunterian Museum. (See Plate I., *Mammalia*, Fig. 5. The portrait of Omai, a native of Ulitea, one of the Society Islands, brought to England in 1773, and carried back by Cook.—*Eng. Ed.*

crisped or woolly hair, compressed cranium, and a flat nose. The projection of the lower parts of the face, and the thick lips, evidently approximate it to the monkey tribe: the hordes of which it consists have always remained in the most complete state of utter barbarism.

“The race from which we are descended has been called *Caucasian*, because tradition and the filiation of nations seem to refer its origin to that group of mountains situated between the Caspian and Black Seas, whence, as from a centre, it has been extended like the radii of a circle. Various nations in the vicinity of Caucasus, the Georgians and Circassians, are still considered the handsomest on earth. The principal ramifications of this race may be distinguished by the analogies of language. The Armenian or Syrian branch, stretching to the south, produced the Assyrians, the Chaldeans, the hitherto untameable Arabs, who, after Mahomet, were near becoming masters of the world; the Phœnicians, Jews, and Abyssinians, which were Arabian colonies; and most probably the Egyptians. It is from this branch, always inclined to mysticism, that have sprung the most widely extended forms of religion—the arts and literature have sometimes flourished among its nations, but always enveloped in a strange disguise, and figurative style.

“The Indian, German, and Pelasgic branch is much more extended, and was much earlier divided: notwithstanding which, the most numerous affinities may be observed between its four principal languages—the Sanscrit, the present sacred language

of the Hindoos, and the parent of the greater number of the dialects of Hindostan; the ancient language of the Pelasgi, common mother of the Greek, Latin, many tongues that are extinct, and of all those of the south of Europe; the Gothic or Teutonic, from which are derived the languages of the north and northwest of Europe; such as the German, Dutch, English, Danish, Swedish, and other dialects; and finally, the Sclavonian, from which sprung those of the northeast, the Russian, Polish, Bohemian, &c.

“It is by this great and venerable branch of the Caucasian stock, that philosophy, the arts, and the sciences have been carried to the greatest perfection, and remained in the keeping of the nations which compose it for more than three thousand years.

“It was preceded in Europe by the Celts, who came from the north, whose tribes, once very numerous, are now confined to its most eastern extremity, and by the Cantabrians, who passed from Africa into Spain, now confounded with the many nations whose posterity have intermingled in that peninsula.

“The ancient Persians originate from the same source as the Indians, and their descendants to the present hour bear great marks of resemblance to the people of Europe.

“The predatory tribes of the Scythian and Tartar branch, extending at first to the north and northeast, always wandering over the immense plains of those countries, returned only to devastate the hap-

pier abodes of their more civilized brethren. The Scythians, who, at so remote a period made irruptions into Upper Asia; the Parthians, who there destroyed the Greek and Roman domination; the Turks, who there subverted that of the Arabs, and subjugated in Europe the unfortunate remnant of the Grecian people, all swarmed from this prolific branch. The Finlanders and Hungarians are tribes of the same division, which have strayed among the Sclavonic and Teutonic nations. Their original country, to the north and northeast of the Caspian Sea still contains inhabitants who have the same origin, and speak similar languages, but mingled with other petty nations, variously descended, and of different languages. The Tartars remained unmixed longer than the others in the country included between the mouth of the Danube to beyond the Irtische, from which they so long menaced Russia, and where they have finally been subjugated by her. The Mongolés, however, have mingled their blood with that of those they conquered, many traces of which may still be found among the inhabitants of lesser Tartary.

“It is to the east of this Tartar branch of the Caucasian races that the Mongolian race begins, whence it extends to the eastern ocean. Its branches, the Calmucs, &c., still wandering shepherds, are constantly traversing the desert. Thrice did their ancestors, under Attila, Genghis, and Tamerlane, spread far the terror of their name. The Chinese are the earliest and most civilized branch, not only of this race, to which they belong, but of all the

nations upon earth. A third branch, the Mantchures, recently conquered, and still govern China. The Japanese, Coreans, and nearly all the hordes which extend to the northeast of Siberia, subject to Russia, are also to be considered, in a great measure, as originating from this race; and such also is esteemed the fact, with regard to the original inhabitants of various islands of that Archipelago. With the exception of a few Chinese literati, the different nations of the Mongoles are universally addicted to Buddhism, or the religion of Fo.

“The origin of this great race appears to have been in the mountains of Atlai, but it is impossible to trace the filiation of its different branches with the same certainty as we have done those of the Caucasian. The history of these wandering nations is as fugitive as their establishments; and that of the Chinese, confined exclusively to their own empire, gives us nothing satisfactory with respect to their neighbors. The affinities of their languages are also too little known to direct us in this labyrinth.

“The languages of the north of the Peninsula beyond the Ganges, as well as that of Thibet, are somewhat allied to the Chinese, at least in their monosyllabic structure, and the people who speak them have features somewhat resembling other Mongoles. The south of this Peninsula, however, is inhabited by Malays, whose forms approximate them much nearer to the Indians, whose race and language are extended over all the coasts of the islands of the Indian Archipelago. The innumerable little islands of the southern ocean are also peo-

pled by a handsome race, nearly allied to the Indians, whose language is very similar to the Malay; in the interior of the largest of these islands, particularly in the wilder portions of it, is another race of men with black complexions, crisped hair, and Negro faces, called Alfoursous. On the coast of New Guinea, and in the neighbouring islands, we find other Negroes, nearly similar to those of the eastern coast of Africa, named Papuas;* to the latter, are generally referred the people of Van-Dieman's Land, and those of New Holland to the Alfoursous.

"These Malays, and these Papuas are not easily referable to either of the three great races of which we have been speaking; but, can the former be clearly distinguished from their neighbors, the Caucasian Hindoos, and the Mongolian Chinese? As for us, we confess we cannot discover any sufficient characteristics in them for that purpose. Are the Papuas Negroes, which may formerly have strayed into the Indian ocean? We possess neither figures nor descriptions sufficiently precise to enable us to answer this question.

"The northern inhabitants of both continents, the Samoiedes, the Laplanders, and the Esquimaux, spring, according to some, from the Mongolian race, while others assert that they are mere degenerate

* With respect to the various nations of the Indian and Pacific oceans, see the dissertation of Messrs. Leeson and Garnot in the '*Zoologie du Voyage de la Coquille*, p. 1—113.' For the languages of the Asiatics and their affinities, consult the '*Asia Polyglotta*' of M. Klaproth."

offsets from the Scythian and Tartar branch of the Caucasian stock.

“ We have not yet been able to refer the Americans to any of the races of the eastern continent; still, they have no precise or constant character which can entitle them to be considered as a particular one. Their copper-colored complexion is not sufficient; their generally black hair and scanty beard would induce us to refer them to the Mongoles, if their defined features, projecting nose, large and open eye, did not oppose such a theory, and correspond with the features of the European. Their languages are as numberless as their tribes, and no demonstrative analogy has as yet been obtained, either with each other, or with those of the old world.”*

* See the ‘Voyage de M. de Humboldt,’ and the dissertations of Vater and Mitchill.”

CHAPTER XIV.

The reader will feel satisfied that I have redeemed my promise in proving that the Negro never can be made, politically, socially, morally, or intellectually, equal with the white. The authors I have cited are names which stand on the very highest pinnacle of anatomical and physiological fame; and how completely do they tear away every rag and tatter which have been used to clothe the idol of Negro equality. Since this question has been met openly and above board, since men have dared to meet the canting whine of hypocrites, fanatics and traitors by defying them to the proof of their assertions, "that the Negro is naturally our equal and our brother," a great change has taken place in the minds of nearly all my acquaintances regarding the question of race. Many of them used to believe that time and climate made all the differences in color and physical appearances, of these notions their minds are entirely disabused. All that is wanting is to send knowledge abroad among the people. Let our citizens understand the real merits of the question at issue and there is no fear but a healthy tone will be given to public opinion, and that maudlin, silly humanitarianism will give way to true ideas and plain, practical common sense.

It may be remarked that differences of opinion do exist among writers as to whether the Negro is descended from this or that man—but no matter how much they may differ as regards their descent or

origin, they are all decided—Prichard alone excepted—from Jefferson to Cuvier that inferiority is their doom. We could not make them our equals even were we willing. Make them our equals, indeed! what folly—when the finger of God, and the eternal laws of nature, place an impenetrable barrier between them and us, warning us in terms not to be misunderstood, never to permit such a transaction. Negro equality—who believes in it? Does Lucretia Mott, or Gerritt Smith, or Wm. Lloyd Garrison, or Wendell Phillips, or Abbey Folsom, or George Thomson believe in this equality—and here by the way I may as well explain an occurrence which took place in this city some five or six weeks ago, George Thompson, M. P., came to Philadelphia to speak—some of *his friends* waited on me to know if it would be prudent to allow him to address the citizens—I gave an emphatic and decided negative answer. The propriety of freedom of speech of Geo. Thompson was discussed afterwards during three evenings. I and my friends took the ground that the emissary of Great Britain had no right here at all; his friends maintained the contrary. The results were that public opinion would not sustain this man in his attack upon our institutions and constitutions, and he had to clear himself from our midst. I have been highly censured by the abolitionists and their press for preventing this man sowing the seeds of disunion in our country and saving Philadelphia the disgrace of being polluted by his foul and filthy language. I am satisfied in my own mind that the course I pursued was both wise and

just — believing as I do, in the idea, that the American people best understand their own affairs; and that the officious interference of an English M. P. is a piece of arrogance and impertinence which they will not submit to.

I had intended to give quotations from Prichard's other work but find it now useless. I have the work before me in five octavo volumes. I have read it carefully through, and find that he commences, continues and ends determined to prove an idea, no matter how anatomy, physiology, history, natural law and common sense may suffer. Moreover, as Peter A. Brown, Esq., and Professor Knox have exposed his errors, it would be a waste of paper and time to allude further to his "researches."

The investigation of this matter has compelled me to depart from an idea I offered in the early part of this work, that "I did not intend to discuss slavery." I find after the most careful examination and a close perusal of a variety of books and documents that I cannot avoid entering upon this inquiry and doing it justice.

Jefferson has clearly proved in his "Notes on Virginia" that no equality can exist between the black and white on this continent, nor is this wonderful, for nature, and nature's God established this law from the beginning. Slavery now exists in fifteen of the thirty-one States of the Union. Can the slaves there be emancipated and placed upon the same social and political platform with their masters? What measures do the abolitionists pro-

pose to abolish slavery—are they prepared to fight, or is it by mere talking—will they insist upon immediate and unconditional emancipation—will they rob the present slave owners of one thousand millions of dollars. I know of no practical, systematic scheme proposed by them. It is all crudity, bombast, fustian. They have been so long in the habit of praising themselves as the “salt of the earth,” and of denouncing everybody else, and especially, southern men, as vile sinners, wicked reprobates, et cetera, that many good men have been entrapped by them; but it is only necessary to demand discussion, open, fair, and free discussion, to prove to our working citizens the extreme wickedness of freeing the Negro under any pretext at all. According to the recent census there are 3,179,589 slaves in the United States. Now will any one dare to say that were the whole slave population thrown into the free white labor market at once that the results would not be most disastrous to our mechanics and working men. How is this to be proved? In more ways than one. The Negro if left to himself will not work, he will lie down and bask in the sun. Mere animals—now it is very evident that with such a population of such a character our alms houses, grogshops and gaols would be crammed to suffocation, and as a consequence, the free white operative would be compelled to pay all the expenses necessary to support this idle, drunken, lazy population. But there is another view of the matter: Negroes, according to all authority, are more subservient than white men: hence the de-

sire of many abolitionists to secure negresses in preference to white women for domestic servants. Have our mechanics considered the full effects of emancipation? Is it not an established fact that the Negro constitution alone is able to endure the heat of the tropics; and, that had we not a slave Negro population to grow our cottons, sugars, and rice, that the diminution of these necessities must become in a couple of years very great. Jesse H. Hammond in his letters to Clarkson, page 45, thus speaks:

“Who can estimate the consequences that must follow the annihilation of the cotton crop of the slave-holding States! I do not undervalue the importance of other articles of commerce, but no calamity could befall the world at all comparable to the sudden loss of two millions of bales of cotton annually. From the deserts of Africa to the Siberian wilds—from Greenland to the Chinese Wall, there is not a spot of earth but would feel the sensation. The factories of Europe would fall with a concussion that would shake down castles, palaces, and even thrones; while the “purse-proud, elbowing insolence” of our Northern monopolists would disappear forever under the smooth speech of the Pedlar, scouring our frontiers for a livelihood, or the bluff vulgarity of the South sea whaler, following the harpoon amid storms and shoals. Doubtless the abolitionists think we could grow cotton without slaves, or that at worst the reduction of the crop would be moderate and temporary. Such gross delusions show how profoundly ignorant they are of our condition here.”

Are our mechanics prepared to aid knaves and villains to entail upon themselves effects similar to those I have here depicted. It must also be remembered that the cotton plant is one of the great mediums of commerce, and its manufacture affords employment to thousands upon thousands—decrease its growth and the number of hands disemployed will be in proportion to its decrease. Bricklayers, carpenters, machinists, miners, et cetera, must all equally be sufferers from want of employment. No white race can labor out of doors in the South—the negro race alone is able to do it, but it will not labor unless it is forced. Were they to be freed this year, next year would see nothing but ruined plantations and lazy, idle, good for nothing Africans. But it is not merely as laborers we are to examine this question. It must be viewed from every possible quarter—the dread of public odium ought not to prevent one from speaking the truth, although no citizen ought to wantonly hurt the feelings of his fellows.

To use the words of the Southern Quarterly Review for January, 1851, "Is Southern civilization worth preserving." The language of the Review is so appropriate that I cannot forbear citing certain portions. It will be found that I select the arguments of others whenever they sustain my position, in preference to using my own.

"To take a comprehensive view of our present condition, let us single out from the rest of the world, these United States and consider them as a nation. Every nation must be viewed in a double

aspect—that is, that the nation that we are now considering is a republic: an observation early made, either in respect to itself, or in relation to the rest of the world. But in looking to itself alone, in making an analysis of its component parts, and tracing their mutual connection and relation, the fact is detected, that this vast republic is made up of a number of separate, and, in many respects, independent republics, differing essentially in numbers, wealth, size and policy; but all constituted by the solemnest compact, equals, as integral fractions of the great whole. The next process must be to classify these individual governments or States, and range them in groups, distinguished by important peculiarities. Homogeneousness, or diversity of population will be, perhaps the first point of inquiry: whence came the people who have overrun the new world? are they from the same origin? do they spring from one common race? Examination discloses that in about one-half of these integral fractions, the population consists of a white Caucasian race, sparsely intermingled, here and there, with an insignificant portion of the descendants of some of the black African tribes. In the other half, the same two races co-exist, but their proportion is materially changed, there being, in point of number, about an equality between them. In neither division are they fused together or considered as equals; in both, the blacks occupy a situation, socially and politically inferior to the whites, and are, in all places, the governing race. A glance at the map shows that the small proportion of Afri-

cans is found in the northern and the large in the southern parts of the nation, and a geographical line decides the division between them. Looking to the causes which have placed distinct races upon the same area, it is seen that to both divisions the white came by spontaneous immigration; the black by enforced transportation. And the involuntary removal of the latter from Africa was effected as a commercial operation, by the joint efforts of a now foreign power and that portion of the nation which, in the early part of its colonization, was the most mercantile in its pursuits. Upon their first introduction, they were more equally distributed than at present, and in all places were held in bondage for the sake of their labour. In course of time they were subjected to and obeyed the law of civilization, in the emigration of labour, and gradually tended to that quarter where climate and other circumstances assisted their increase and made their labor most beneficial. In all places they were brought over to be slaves. As, under the law alluded to, they decreased in numbers at the North, and were supplied in part by other labor, they were gradually released from bondage, but have never been admitted to the full rights of their former owners. In the South, the old relations have not been disturbed; many regulations and improvements have been introduced, but this is not the place to advert to them. The grand distinction, then, is that the North is not slaveholding; the South is, and the slavery is that of a race markedly different from the dominant one.

Thus the first classification is based upon a social organization, existing in some and not prevailing in others of the States. In other respects, (politically considered,) they mainly agree, and whatever differences broadly exist are connected with this distinction—a distinction which is admitted on all sides, to have exercised a controlling influence upon the character and pursuits of the government population, and the resources and condition of the country."

The constitutionality of slave emancipation it is neither my duty or inclination to discuss just here. I take it for granted that there is a "higher law" than all parchments and constitutions, which law says that all races of men must submit to the fair; but to continue in the words of the reviewer, "Have we Social Institutions worth preserving?"

"This question has been often decided against us without examination, and in fact the denunciations against us are frequently based upon an assumption that we have not a social system worthy of preservation. Indeed, for a long time, even our own people were disposed to admit our inferiority in this respect, and were used to base their apology for slavery mainly upon the ground of the present impossibility of abandoning it. Nor was this a matter of surprise. Serfdom had, in the course of events, passed away from those countries of Europe with which we are most acquainted, and Negro slavery had ceased to exist in many States of our continent. No other country, which had any influence over the American mind, was in a like situation with our-

selves. In no other place were to be found two races, equal in number, but so entirely different in degree, inhabiting the same area. The matter had not been profoundly investigated, and the mistake had always been made, of arguing the question as if the two races, one of which was in bondage, were fully the equals, morally and intellectually, of each other. No distinction was made between African slavery and European serfdom. Hence the numberless fallacies which arose in the investigation, but which were received and promulgated as profound truths, by those who fancied themselves masters of the subject. Received as established facts in Europe, they crossed the Atlantic, and were speedily naturalized at the North. The self-satisfaction of conscious virtue, which so often makes men thankful they are not like others, made the North cheerfully accept the conclusions, and it was with no small degree of pride that they believed in their social superiority to their brothers. Every intellectual resource was directed against the system. The statesman framed his ordinances, the orator fulminated his denunciations, and the fashionable theology of the day saw in it a complete subversion of all christian spirit. Lawyers applied to it precedents framed for entirely different subjects; jurists, led away by the general current of opinion, sustained the application; while a sentimental literature, abandoning reason and despising observation, wept over the state of the unhappy captive, of whose actual condition it carefully preserved an ignorance. Influences surrounded us, on all sides, to inculcate the leading idea, that our

system was in itself wrong and injurious, criminal and impoverishing. It is always easier to permit others to think for us, than to assume the task of reasoning for ourselves; and thus many, if not most slaveholders, gradually adopted the often repeated assertion, and were wont to admit, in argument, that our system was, in all points, inferior to others, and could only be sustained on the plea of necessity. The admission was fatal to our cause; it strengthened our opponents, by conceding they were right, and weakened confidence in ourselves, by admitting we were wrong. Thanks to the energy with which these false positions were pressed upon us, we were at length driven to the necessity of investigating the subject from its very depth; we were forced to think for ourselves. Satisfied that the results of the institution were not in accordance with necessary deductions from such premises, powerful intellects were induced to retrace the line of argument, and examine carefully the grounds upon which it was based. The investigation is of comparatively recent date; but its results are of vast importance. It has effected a revolution in the intelligence of the South, which places the system upon an impregnable position. It has been examined from every point of view, and we believe that every examination has increased its value. *We are satisfied now that we are right*—right politically, industrially, socially, and above all, religiously.”

This is grappling with the question as it must be grappled with. It is now Negro slavery or Negro freedom. Whether white men shall take the place

of the Negro in the rice and sugar grounds, and upon the cotton and tobacco plantations; that is the gist of these subjects. The advocates of Negro equality shall be dragged before the nation until their doctrines shall be held up to the scorn and execration of all good men. True it is that the opponents of Negro equality need not fear the most open and free discussion, for the results must be always in their favor. Indeed, this idea has not escaped Dr. William Elder, of this city, although he does not view it in precisely the light that I do. The Dr. with his usual sagacity has not failed to observe the results of the Congressional discussions upon the public mind, but he ought to have carried his reasoning a little farther, and have fallen back upon first principles; however, hear the eloquent language of the Dr. himself.

“From another ground I draw the same conclusion. Agitation was once the best service that could be rendered to the cause of liberty, and Congress Hall the best place for it. The North understood it so, and desired it; the South understood it so, and feared it. Silence, absolute, was the demand in 1837, and the slaveholders at that time used every means, most unscrupulously, to enforce it. But how is it now? The discussions of slavery have been almost uninterrupted through the period of the last Congress, and they were led off in almost every instance by the pro-slavery leaders! Whatever this change means in other respects, it is a significant one touching the policy of agitation and debate in the Capitol for out-door purposes. And the effect of

the long discussion upon the respective Houses! No abolitionist looks without amazement at the reports. He finds none of the effects upon the opposition members which he expected, from the faithful exhibition of the truth, when, some years ago, he labored so hard merely to get it a hearing. Liberty and slavery have had a hand-to-hand struggle in the freest field of combat in the world; Europe has all the while been shaken with revolutions; and America has been even extravagant in its sympathies; the issues involved were of the most urgent practical importance: the sentiment and the interests were in their fullest activity; yet the champions of the wrong have not been overwhelmed; they have not been made to confess it; and they are even supported in their defiant attitude by frequent and flagrant apostacies from principle in the ranks of allies which the friends of liberty relied upon with the greatest assurance. In all these years legislation has constantly answered to the demands of the enemy; the victory rests with the spirit of aggression, and success is, as usual, working out its own justification, and changing itself into glory that passes almost unchallenged!

“So soon as the field of debate was fairly opened and freed, the friends of the right brought the abstract principles of truth and righteousness to bear upon the opposition; and behold! this day they are openly repudiated. Seven years ago, these principles asked only a hearing, to-day they are seeking shelter and defence! Conscience and the higher law have the reputation of a

pestilence—Compromise and quiet are the only patriotism and orthodoxy!

“A political party with abolitionism for its exclusive, or principal, or central idea, gets no countenance from any of these considerations. In this form and array it has already suffered the defeat of its aims in the policy of the Government and country.”

Here is one of the most honest, most consistent, and far-seeing anti-slavery men admitting the full force of my position; and I hesitate not to say that now there is a rapid change going on in the public mind in the North, favorable to Negro slavery.

The howls of fanatics, the falsehood of knaves, and the treason of renegades, as to the sufferings of the southern slave, and the cruelty of their masters, humanitarianism, rights of man, woman's rights, Negroism, &c., are eternally upon the lips of the abolitionists; but do they sympathize with the white laborer in his endeavors to improve his social condition. I speak from experience; in the struggles for children of ten years of age to be prevented from working thirteen hours in a factory; how many of these men have aided us in establishing the ten hour law? Burleigh, M'Kim, Mott, Plumley, Thomas, Grew, Cayley, have ye moved a finger in favor of shortening the hours of factory labor? The smaller fry of abolitionists, the hangers on and toadies, it is entirely out of my way to mention.

I know it may be said that these remarks are trivial, and perhaps ill-natured, but it is absolutely necessary that citizens at a distance should know

and appreciate that philanthropy which will encourage the negro to rob his master, but which will not lift a finger in behalf of the oppressed and degraded of their own race. Nor do I believe that the New York or New England abolitionists have ever accomplished or attempted to accomplish anything for their white brethren. Pennsylvania has a ten hour law, New Jersey has another, but no thanks to the abolitionists. The fact is, that some of the bitterest opponents of the ten hour system are rank, rabid abolitionists.

I presume I may safely assert that the factory masters of Massachusetts have had no rebuke for their tyranny to their factory operatives. Yet Massachusetts is the State, and the good city of Boston the place where the English emissary, George Thompson, was allowed to insult every slaveholder in America, and to abuse our institutions, state and national: but have Theodore Parker, William Lloyd Garrison, Phillips, Abby Folsom, Quincy, and the other abolitionists ever attempted to arrest the rascality of the Cotton Lords of Massachusetts by having a ten hour law passed to protect helpless women and little children? A straw tells which way the wind blows.

All the crimes in the Newgate calendar are laid at the doors of the slaveholders. Licentiousness is one of those sins charged against the South. Its refutation by J. H. Hammond, Ex-Governor of South Carolina, is so ably done that I cite his language.

“But your grand charge is that licentiousness

in intercourse between the sexes is a prominent trait of our social system, and that it necessarily arises from slavery. This is a favorite theme with the abolitionists, male and female. Folios have been written on it. It is a common observation that there is no subject on which ladies of eminent virtue so much delight to dwell, and on which in especial learned old maids like Miss Martineau linger with such an insatiable relish. They expose it to the slave States with the most minute observance and endless iteration. Miss Martineau, with peculiar gust, relates a series of scandalous stories which would have made Boccacio jealous of her pen, but which are so ridiculously false as to leave no doubt that some wicked wag, knowing she would write a book, has furnished her materials—a game too often played on Tourists in this country. The constant recurrence of the female abolitionists to this topic, and their bitterness in regard to it, cannot fail to suggest to even the most charitable mind, that

‘Such rage without betrays the fires within.’

Nor are their immaculate coadjutors of the other sex, though perhaps less specific in their charges, less violent in their denunciations. But recently in your Island a clergyman has, at a public meeting, stigmatized the whole slave region as a ‘Brothel.’ Do these people thus cast stones being ‘without sin?’ Or do they only

‘Compound for sins they are inclined to
By damning those they have no mind to.’

Alas that David and Solomon should be allowed to

repose in peace—that Leo should be almost canonized, and Luther more than sainted—that in our own day courtezans should be formally licensed in Paris, and tenements in London rented for years to women of the town for the benefit of the Church, with the knowledge of the Bishop—and the poor slave States of America, alone pounced upon and offered up as a holocaust on the Altar of Immaculateness to atone for the abuse of natural instinct by all mankind; and if not actually consumed, at least exposed, anathematized and held up to scorn, by those who

‘ write
Or with a Rival’s or an Eunuch’s spite.’

“ But I do not intend to admit that this charge is just or true. Without meaning to profess uncommon modesty, I will say that I wish the topic could be avoided. I am of opinion, I doubt every right minded man will concur, that the public exposure and discussion of this vice, even to rebuke, invariably does more harm than good; and that if it cannot be checked by instilling pure and virtuous sentiments, it is far worse than useless to attempt to do it, by exhibiting its deformities. I may not, however, pass it over; nor ought I to feel any delicacy in examining a question to which the slaveholder is invited and challenged by Clergymen and Virgins. So far from allowing, that licentiousness pervades this region, I broadly assert, and I refer to the records of our Courts, to the public press, and to the knowledge of all who have ever lived here, that among our white population there are fewer cases of di-

vorce, separation, crim con, seduction, rape and bastardy, than among any other five millions of people on the civilized earth. And this fact I believe will be conceded by the abolitionists of this country themselves. I am almost willing to refer it to them and submit to their decision on it. I would not hesitate to do so if I thought them capable of an impartial judgment on any matter where slavery is in question. But it is said that the licentiousness consists in the constant intercourse between white males and colored females. One of your heavy charges against us has been that we regard and treat these people as brutes; you now charge us with habitually taking them to our bosoms. I will not comment on the inconsistency of these accusations. I will not deny that some intercourse of the sort does take place. Its character and extent, however, are grossly and atrociously exaggerated. No authority divine or human has yet been found sufficient to arrest all such irregularities among men. But it is a known fact that they are perpetrated here, for the most part, in the cities. Very few mulattoes are reared on our own plantations. In the cities a large proportion of the inhabitants do not own slaves. A still larger proportion are natives of the North, or foreigners. They should share, and justly, too, an equal part in this sin with the slaveholders. Facts cannot be ascertained, or I doubt not it would appear they are the chief offenders. If the truth be otherwise, then persons from abroad have stronger prejudices against the African race than we have. Be this as it may, it is

well known that this intercourse is regarded in our society as highly disreputable. If carried on habitually it seriously affects a man's standing, so far as it is known; and he who takes a colored mistress—with rare and extraordinary exceptions—loses caste at once. You would say that *one* exception should damn our whole country. How much less criminal is it to take a white mistress? In your eyes it should be at least an equal offence. Yet look around you at home, from the cottage to the throne, and count how many mistresses are kept in unblushing notoriety, without any loss of caste. Such cases are almost unknown here, and down even to the lowest walks of life it is almost invariably fatal to a man's position and prospects to keep a mistress openly, whether white or black. What Miss Martineau relates of a young man's purchasing a colored concubine from a lady and avowing his designs, is too absurd even for contradiction. No person would dare to allude to such a subject in such a manner to any decent female in this country. If he did, he would be *lynched*—doubtless with your approbation.

“After all, however, the number of the mixed breed in proportion to that of the black is infinitely small, and out of the towns next to nothing. And when it is considered that the African race has been among us for two hundred years, and that those of the mixed breed continually intermarry—often rearing large families—it is a decided proof of our continence that so few comparatively are to be found. Our misfortunes are two-fold. From the prolific

propagation of these mongrels among themselves, we are liable to be charged by tourists with delinquencies where none have been committed, while, where one has been, it cannot be concealed. Color marks indelibly the offence, and reveals it to every eye. Conceive that, even in your virtuous and polished country, if every bastard through all the circles of your social system was thus branded by nature, and known to all, what shocking developments might there not be ! How little indignation might your saints have to spare for the licentiousness of the slave region. But I have done with this disgusting topic. And I think I may justly conclude, after all the scandalous charges which tea-table gossip and long-gowned hypocrisy have brought against the slaveholders, that a people whose men are proverbially brave, intellectual and hospitable, and whose women are unaffectedly chaste, devoted to domestic life and happy in it, can neither be degraded nor demoralized, whatever their institutions may be. My decided opinion is, that our system of slavery contributes largely to the development and culture of these high and noble qualities."

And again he says:

"I do not know that I can subscribe in full to the sentiment so often quoted by the abolitionists, and by Mr. Dickinson in his letter to me: '*Homo sum et nihil humanum a me alienum puto*,' as translated and practically illustrated by them. Such a doctrine would give wide authority to every one for the most dangerous intermeddling with the

affairs of others. It will do in poetry—perhaps in some sorts of Philosophy—but the attempt to make it a household maxim, and introduce it into the daily walks of life, has caused many an ‘Homo,’ a broken crown; and probably will continue to do it. Still, though a slaveholder, I freely acknowledge my obligations as a man; and that I am bound to treat humanely the fellow creatures whom God has entrusted to my charge. I feel therefore somewhat sensitive under the accusation of cruelty, and disposed to defend myself and fellow slaveholders against it. It is certainly the interest of all, and I am convinced that it is also the desire of every one of us, to treat our slaves with proper kindness. It is necessary to our deriving the greatest amount of profit from them. Of this we are all satisfied. And you snatch from us the only consolation we Americans could derive from the opprobrious imputation of being wholly devoted to making money, which your disinterested and gold-despising countrymen delight to cast upon us, when you nevertheless declare that we are ready to sacrifice it for the pleasure of being inhuman. You remember that Mr. Pitt could never get over the idea that self-interest would insure kind treatment to slaves, until you told him your woful stories of the Middle Passage. Mr. Pitt was right in the first instance, and erred, under your tuition, in not perceiving the difference between a temporary and permanent ownership of them. Slaveholders are no more perfect than other men. They have passions. Some of them, as you may suppose, do not at all times re-

strain them. Neither do husbands, parents, and friends. And in each of these relations as serious sufferings as frequently arise from uncontrolled passions as ever does in that of master and slave, and with as little chance of indemnity. Yet you would not on that account break them up. I have no hesitation in saying that our slaveholders are as kind masters, as men usually are kind husbands, parents and friends—as a general rule, kinder. A bad master—he who overworks his slaves, provides ill for them, or treats them with undue severity—loses the esteem and respect of his fellow citizens to as great an extent as he would for the violation of any of his social and most of his moral obligations. What the most perfect plan of management would be is a problem hard to solve. From the commencement of slavery in this country, this subject has occupied the minds of all slaveholders, as much as the improvement of the general condition of mankind has those of the most ardent philanthropists; and the greatest progressive amelioration of the system has been effected. You yourself acknowledge that in the early part of your career you were exceedingly anxious for the *immediate* abolition of the slave trade, lest those engaged in it should so mitigate its evils as to destroy the force of your arguments and facts. The improvement you then *dreaded* has gone on steadily here, and would doubtless have taken place in the slave trade but for the measures adopted to suppress it.

“Of late years we have been not only annoyed, but greatly embarrassed in this matter, by the abo-

litionists. We have been compelled to curtail some privileges; we have been debarred from granting new ones. In the face of discussions which aim at loosening all ties between master and slave, we have in some measure to abandon our efforts to attach them to us, and control them through their affections and pride. We have to rely more and more on the power of fear. We must in all our intercourse with them assert and maintain strict mastery, and impress it on them that they are slaves. This is painful to us, and certainly no present advantage to them. But it is the direct consequence of the abolition agitation. We are determined to continue masters, and to do so we have to draw the rein tighter and tighter day by day, to be assured that we hold them in complete check. How far this process will go on depends wholly and solely on the abolitionists. When they desist we can relax. We may not before. I do not mean by all this to say that we are in a state of actual alarm and fear of our slaves; but under existing circumstances we should be ineffably stupid not to increase our vigilance and strengthen our hands. You see some of the fruits of your labors. I speak freely and candidly—not as a colonist who, though a slaveholder has a master; but as a free white man, holding, under God, and resolved to hold, my fate in my own hands; and I assure you that my sentiments, and feelings, and determinations are those of every slaveholder in this country.

“The research and ingenuity of the abolitionists, aided by the invention of runaway slaves—in which

faculty, so far as improvising falsehood goes, the African race is without a rival—have succeeded in shocking the world with a small number of pretended instances of our barbarity. The only wonder is, that, considering the extent of our country, the variety of our population, its fluctuating character, and the publicity of all our transactions, the number of cases collected is so small. It speaks well for us. Yet of these, many are false, all highly colored; some occurring half a century, most of them many years ago; and no doubt a large proportion of them perpetrated by foreigners. With a few rare exceptions the emigrant Scotch and English are the worst masters among us, and next to them our Northern fellow citizens. Slaveholders born and bred here are always more humane to slaves, and those who have grown up to a large inheritance of them, the most so of any—showing clearly that the effect of the system is to foster kindly feelings. I do not mean so much to impute innate inhumanity to foreigners, as to show that they come here with false notions of the treatment usual and necessary for slaves, and that newly-acquired power here, as every where else, is apt to be abused. I cannot enter into a detailed examination of the cases stated by the abolitionists. It would be disgusting, and of little avail. I know nothing of them. I have seen nothing like them, though born and bred here, and have rarely heard of any thing at all to be compared with them. Permit me to say that I think most of *your* facts must have been drawn from the West Indies, where undoubtedly slaves were treated

much more harshly than with us. This was owing to a variety of causes, which might, if necessary, be stated. One was, that they had at first to deal more extensively with barbarians fresh from the wilds of Africa; another, and a leading one, the absenteeism of proprietors. Agents are always more unfeeling than owners, whether placed over West Indian or American slaves, or Irish tenantry. We feel this evil greatly even here. You describe the use of thumb-screws as one mode of punishment among us. I doubt if a thumb-screw can be found in America. I never saw or heard of one in this country. Stocks are rarely used by private individuals, and confinement still more seldom, though both are common punishments for whites, all the world over. I think they should be more frequently resorted to with slaves, as substitutes for flogging, which I consider the most injurious and least efficacious mode of punishing them for serious offences. It is not degrading, and unless excessive occasions little pain. You may be a little astonished, after all the flourishes that have been made about 'cart whips,' &c., when I say flogging is not the most degrading punishment in the world. It may be so to a white man in most countries, but how is it to the white boy? That necessary coadjutor of the schoolmaster, the 'birch' is never thought to have rendered infamous the unfortunate victim of pedagogue ire; nor did Solomon in his wisdom dream that he was counselling parents to debase their offspring, when he exhorted them not to spoil the child by sparing the rod. Pardon me for recurring to the now ex-

ploded ethics of the Bible. Custom, which, you will perhaps agree, makes most things in this world good or evil, has removed all infamy, from the punishment of the lash to the slave. Your blood boils at the recital of stripes inflicted on a man; and you think you should be frenzied to see your own child flogged. Yet see how completely this is ideal, arising from the fashions of society. You doubtless submitted to the rod yourself, in other years, when the smart was perhaps as severe as it would be now; and you have never been guilty of the folly of revenging yourself on the preceptor who in the plenitude of his 'irresponsible power' thought proper to chastise your son. So it is with the negro, and the negro father.

"As to chains and irons, they are rarely used; never I believe except in cases of running away. You must admit that if we pretend to own slaves they must not be permitted to abscond whenever they see fit; and that if nothing else will prevent it these means must be resorted to. See the inhumanity necessarily arising from slavery, you will exclaim, Are such restraints imposed on no other class of people giving no more offence? Look to your army and navy. If your seamen, impressed from their peaceful occupations, and your soldiers, recruited at the gin shops—both of them as much kidnapped as the most unsuspecting victim of the slave trade, and doomed to a far more wretched fate—if these men manifest a propensity to desert, the heaviest manacles are their mildest punishment: It is most commonly death, after summary trial. But

armies and navies you say are indispensable, and must be kept up at every sacrifice. I answer that they are no more indispensable than slavery is to us—and to *you*; for you have enough of it in your country, though the form and name differ from ours.

“Depend upon it that many things, and in regard to our slaves, most things which appear revolting at a distance, and to slight reflection, would on a nearer view and impartial comparison with the customs and conduct of the rest of mankind, strike you in a very different light. Remember that on our estates we dispense with the whole machinery of public police, and public courts of justice. Thus we try, decide, and execute the sentences, in thousands of cases, which in other countries would go into the courts. Hence, most of the acts of our alleged cruelty which have any foundation in truth. Whether our patriarchal mode of administering justice is less humane than the assizes can only be determined by careful inquiry and comparison. But this is never done by the abolitionists. All our punishments are the outrages of ‘irresponsible power.’ If a man steals a pig in England he is transported—torn from wife, children, parents, and sent to the Antipodes, infamous, and an outcast forever, though perhaps he took from the superabundance of his neighbor to save the lives of his famishing little ones. If one of our well fed negroes, merely for the sake of fresh meat, steals a pig, he gets perhaps forty stripes. If one of your cottagers breaks into another’s house, he is hung for burglary.

If a slave does the same here, a few lashes, or perhaps a few hours in the stocks, settles the matter. Are our courts or yours the most humane? If slavery were not in question you would doubtless say ours is mistaken lenity. Perhaps it often is; and slaves too lightly dealt with sometimes grow daring. Occasionally, though rarely, and almost always in consequence of excessive indulgence, an individual rebels. This is the highest crime he can commit. It is treason. It strikes at the root of our whole system. His life is justly forfeited, though it is never intentionally taken, unless after trial in our public courts. Sometimes, however, in capturing, or in self-defence, he is unfortunately killed. A legal investigation always follows. But, terminate as it may, the abolitionists raise a hue and cry, and another 'shocking case' is held up to the indignation of the world by tender hearted male and female philanthropists, who would have thought all right had the master's throat been cut, and would have triumphed in it.

"I cannot go into a detailed comparison between the penalties inflicted on a slave in our patriarchal courts, and those of the courts of sessions to which freemen are sentenced in all civilized nations; but I know well that if there is any fault in our criminal code, it is that of excessive mildness.

"Perhaps a few general facts will best illustrate the treatment this race receives at our hands. It is acknowledged that it increases at least as rapidly as the white. I believe it is an established law, that population thrives in proportion

to its comforts. But when it is considered that these people are not recruited by immigration from abroad as the whites are, and that they are usually settled on our richest and and least healthy lands, the fact of their equal comparative increase and greater longevity, outweighs a thousand abolition falsehoods, in favor of the leniency and providence of our management of them. It is also admitted that there are incomparably fewer cases of insanity and suicide among them than among the whites. The fact is, that among the slaves of the African race these things are almost wholly unknown. However frequent suicide may have been among those brought from Africa, I can say that in my time I cannot remember to have known or heard of a single instance of deliberate self-destruction, and but of one of suicide at all. As to insanity, I have seen but one permanent case of it, and that twenty years ago. It cannot be doubted that among three millions of people there must be some insane and some suicides; but I will venture to say that more cases of both occur annually among every hundred thousand of the population of Great Britain, than among all our slaves. Can it be possible, then, that they exist in that state of abject misery, goaded by constant injuries, outraged in their affections, and worn down with hardships, which the abolitionists depict, and so many ignorant and thoughtless persons religiously believe?

“With regard to the separation of husbands and wives, parents and children, nothing can be more untrue than the inferences drawn from what is so

constantly harped on by abolitionists. Some painful instances perhaps may occur. Very few that can be prevented. It is, and it always has been an object of prime consideration with our slaveholders to keep families together. Negroes are themselves both perverse and comparatively indifferent about this matter. It is a singular trait, that they almost invariably prefer forming connections with slaves belonging to other masters, and at some distance. It is therefore impossible to prevent separations sometimes, by the removal of one owner, his death, or failure, and dispersion of his property. In all such cases, however, every reasonable effort is made to keep the parties together, if they desire it. And the negroes forming these connexions, knowing the chances of their premature dissolution, rarely complain more than we all do of the inevitable strokes of fate. Sometimes it happens that a negro prefers to give up his family rather than separate from his master. I have known such instances. As to wilfully selling off a husband or wife, or child, I believe it is rarely, very rarely done, except when some offence has been committed demanding 'transportation.' At sales of estates, and even at sheriff's sales, they are always, if possible, sold in families. On the whole, notwithstanding the migratory character of our population, I believe there are more families among our slaves, who have lived and died together without losing a single member from their circle, except by the process of nature, and in the enjoyment of constant, uninterrupted communion, than have flourished in the same space of time and

among the same number of civilized people in modern times. And to sum up all, if pleasure is correctly defined to be the absence of pain—which, so far as the great body of mankind is concerned, is undoubtedly its true definition—I believe our slaves are the happiest three millions of human beings on whom the sun shines. Into their Eden is coming Satan in the guise of an abolitionist.”

The following rebuke towards Clarkson and his confreres exposes that canting philosophy which forms so conspicuous a part in the English abolition character :

“ If any farther proof was wanted of the utter and well known though not yet openly avowed failure of West Indian emancipation, it would be furnished by the startling fact, that *the African Slave Trade has been actually revived under the auspices and protection of the British Government*. Under the specious guise of ‘ Immigration ’ they are replenishing those islands with slaves from the coast of Africa. Your colony of Sierra Leone, founded on that coast to prevent the slave trade, and peopled, by the bye, in the first instance by negroes stolen from these States during the Revolutionary War, is the Depot where captives taken from Slavers by your armed vessels are transported. I might say returned, since nearly half the Africans carried across the Atlantic are understood to be embarked in this vicinity. The wretched survivors who are there set at liberty, are immediately seduced to ‘ immigrate ’ to the West Indies. The business is systematically carried on by Black ‘ Delegates,’ sent expressly from

the West Indies, where on arrival the 'immigrants' are *sold into Slavery* for twenty-one years, under conditions ridiculously trivial and wickedly void, since few or none will be able to derive any advantage from them. The whole prime of life thus passed in bondage, it is contemplated, and doubtless it will be carried into effect, to turn them out in their old age to shift for themselves, and to supply their places with fresh and vigorous 'Immigrants.' Was ever a system of slavery so barbarous devised before? Can you think of comparing it with ours? Even your own religious missionaries at Sierra Leone denounce it 'as worse than the slave state in Africa.' And your Black Delegates, fearful of the influence of these missionaries, as well as on account of the inadequate supply of captives, are now preparing to procure the able bodied and comparatively industrious Kroomen of the interior, by *purchasing from their Headmen* the privilege of inveigling them to the West India market! So ends the magnificent farce—perhaps I should say tragedy, of West India Abolition! I will not harrow your feelings by asking you to review the labors of your life and tell me what you and your brother enthusiasts have accomplished for 'injured Africa,' but while agreeing with Lord Stowell, that 'Villeinage decayed,' and admitting that slavery might do so also, I think I am fully justified by passed and passing events in saying, as Mr. *Grosvenor* said of the slave trade, that its *abolition* is 'impossible.' "

The ignorance manifested by the negro-maniacs

is only equalled by their deliberate treason against our Republic. Clarkson says in writing to *certain Americans* I hope I may be excused for calling men Americans who can sympathise with the following sentiment: "*You must either separate yourselves from all political connection with the South.*" Geo. Thompson also spoke in the most bitter and treasonable manner during his recent visit to this country; and there are persons born on the soil of America not ashamed to associate with such men. Cannot their machinations be seen through—is not the severance of these States the very thing aimed at and desired by the despots of Europe, so that the Kossuths, Mazzinis and McManuses shall have no spot under the canopy of Heaven to flee to? Americans who have not viewed this matter seriously will do well to observe how the abolitionists sympathise with each other. The tyrants of the old world are even vigilant to destroy our form of government; and they will leave no stone unturned to accomplish their wicked and treasonable designs.

The only way to counteract the machinations is by demanding a full and open discussion upon the question of races; and before one year has passed away the abolitionists will meet only to be laughed at and despised.

The late Major Noah says,

"Setting aside all that has been said in favor of the position, that slavery is a natural condition of the Negro, which must of necessity exist as a natural consequence of the imperfect organization of the negro, we now come to the question whether it is

not absolutely necessary as a component element in the structure of society in this country. Whatever might have been the result of a dense population in the southern states, exclusively composed of whites, we would now put the question whether it would have been possible to have cultivated the soil of the southern states, possessing the peculiarities of climate which they do, without the aid of a negro population? Whether the staple commodities of cotton, tobacco, rice, &c., which are the growth of that peculiar climate and soil, could have ever been brought to the successful cultivation that they have been without slave labor? Is it not clear that these rich staples to which we of the North, as well as of the South, owe all the wealth, prosperity and greatness of our country, would have been a *dead letter* without the aid of slave labor? Is it not certain that, without this dispensation in our behalf, the whole South would have been an entire swamp and morass of stagnant pools and weeds, and overgrown forests? We think this undeniable. And who are those that have been most benefitted and most enriched by this state of things? The North and her enterprising citizens, who have been the active traders that have brought this wealth into the market, and who, for want of any *peculiar* staples themselves, have become the factors and merchants, and ship builders and manufacturers, by which the great southern staple of cotton has been consumed and turned into a most profitable source of wealth. The North, therefore, in countenancing any interference with the slave property of the South, or in endeavoring by emancipation, abolition, or otherwise, to

weaken the relation existing between master and slave, is stabbing her own vital interests to the heart."

Mr. Franklin, in his "Present State of Hayti," gives the following account of the consequences of free labor in that island :

"I cannot avoid repeating that Hayti must not be held up as an example of what can be accomplished by free labor ; but that it ought rather to be the beacon to warn the government of England against an experiment which may prove absolutely fatal to her colonial system. If it be not wished that a fate similar to that which has befallen Hayti should overtake our colonies, that they should be rendered wholly unproductive to the revenue of the country, and that the property invested in them should be preserved from destruction, the advisers of the crown must pause before they listen to the ill-judged suggestions of enthusiasts ; for they must banish from their minds the idea that the work of cultivation can be made productive by means of free labor. Such a thing appears to me impossible. The negro, constituted as he is, has such an aversion to labor, and so great a propensity for indulgence and vice, that no prospect of advantage can stimulate him ; and as for emulation it has not the slightest influence over him. Without force he will sink into lethargy, and revert to his primitive savage character, and the only feasible and effectual plan to promote his civilization is to persist in those measures which compel him to labor, inculcate morality, and tend to extirpate those vices which are inherent in the descendants of the African race."

CHAPTER XV.

CONRAD.

JUDGE CONRAD in his "Plea for the South," published in 1836, says :

" We are willing, for the sake of investigating the practicability of abolition, to suppose impossibilities—to imagine that the Southern states are willing to witness, with apathy and indifference, the most sacred provisions of the constitution violated, and their domestic institutions and domestic rights trampled, by their brethren, in the dust. We are willing to suppose, that they will voluntarily surrender their chartered rights, quietly beggar themselves and their children, and tamely give themselves up to the management of the Northern fanatics: in short that the slave-holders will themselves become abolitionists. *Still it would be impossible to effect abolition without commotion and bloodshed, without the desolation of the entire South, and the extermination of one or the other of the races which inhabit it.*

" Were the slaves emancipated they would claim political and social equality. This is already claimed by the abolitionists; and it is not to be supposed that a mass of ignorant freed men, drunken with the excitement of unwonted exemption from restraint, would be more moderate in their views or desires, than their *pious and temperate* advocates in the North. They would claim political and social equality. Would it be denied? If so, they would,

in the exultation and boastfulness of newly acquired importance, demand it. Pleased with a pretext for collision, they would at once fall upon the whites, and wrest, or attempt to wrest, the political power of the Southern states from their hands, at the point of the sword. Whatever might be the final result—the immediate consequences would be a war of extermination.

“But let us suppose that these rights were conceded, and that the slave was at once elevated to all the privileges and powers of complete citizenship—the right to vote, to hold office, to make laws, organize armies, &c. &c. Can any man, in the maturity of reason, uninfluenced by fanaticism, and disposed to look dispassionately at facts, suppose that the two races could exist together, in tranquility under such circumstances? Can it be conceived that social amalgamation will, or can, take place? The reader has no doubt noted with apprehension and regret the proscriptive and bitter prejudices of parties as they now exist in this country. A population, united by every national tie, identical in language, character, interests and feelings, and knit together by all the bonds of kindred—are still so divided by the spirit of faction, that the tranquility and even the existence of the Union have been at times endangered. If such excitements distract our present population, what must be expected, when the South is possessed by two races, differing in color, character and interests? What power will overthrow the barrier which indissolubly divides them? What magic will remove the distinction which makes social amalgamation impossible?

Without kindred connections, without social or sexual intercourse, with every thing that can separate and embitter the races—it is impossible that they could move in the same sphere. It is impossible that they could sit in the same legislative hall, stand in the same military ranks, occupy the same civil posts, or mingle in the same political meetings. So long as intermarriage is out of the question, so long must these prejudices—the necessary result of social separation—prevail. On one side will be the whites, on the other the blacks; on one side the intelligence and refinement of the country, on the other the ignorance and barbarity; on one side the wealth, on the other the poverty; on one side contempt and the feeling produced by former power, on the other dark brooding feelings of malice and revenge. The blacks, too, would be unwilling to work, and when pressed by want—would *wrench* the means of existence from the white man, and in case of resistance, resort to the torch and the knife. The lands would remain in the possession of the whites, and being the only source of wealth, the impoverished negroes would insist on their division. A thousand subjects of contention would arise; and when the parties are indissolubly divided, separated by the hand of Nature, marked, on the front, as foes, and embittered by every feeling of hostility which can enter into human quarrels—the arbitrament must eventually be by the sword.*

* The following extract from De Lamartine, contains impressive and pregnant truths, which should not be overlooked by the political philosopher.

"The abolitionist will, perhaps, point to the Northern states, as furnishing a proof of the safety of abolition. It is true, that the slaves have been emancipated in the North—it is also true that they have not destroyed the lives of our citizens. But the facts prove nothing for the abolitionists. Notwithstanding the paucity of the numbers of the blacks, they have given the greatest trouble to the authorities of the Northern cities. Insignificant in power and resources, they are still insolent and arrogant to a degree which renders them dangerous to the community. The officers of justice scarce venture to arrest them; and it is a task of great and mortal peril to take a fugitive slave, or a fugitive from justice, from among them. It is unnecessary to refer the reader to the columns of our newspapers, which give, almost weekly, accounts of rescues by the blacks. The very hall of the Court

"The more I have travelled, the more I am convinced *that races of men form the great secret of history and manners.* Man is not so capable of education as philosophers imagine. The influence of governments and laws has less power, radically, than is supposed, over the manners and instincts of any people, while the primitive constitution and the blood of the race have always their influence, and manifest themselves, thousands of years afterwards, in the physical formations and moral habits of a particular family or tribe. Human nature flows in rivers and streams into the vast ocean of humanity; but its waters mingle but slowly, sometimes never; and it emerges again, like the Rhone from the Lake of Geneva, with its own taste and color. Here is indeed an abyss of thought and meditation, and at the same time a grand secret for legislators. As long as they keep the spirit of the race in view they succeed; but they fail when they strive against this natural predisposition: nature is stronger than they are. This sentiment is not that of the philosophers of the present time, but it is evident to the traveller; and there is more philosophy to be found in a caravan journey of a hundred leagues, than in ten years reading and meditation."

House in Philadelphia, was made the scene of a rescue but a short time since ; and the Judge himself saw, through the window, the officers of the court assailed and the prisoner seized by a negro mob.

“ While referring to the free negroes of the North, it may be well to inquire whether the social and moral improvement, promised by the abolitionists as the result of emancipation, has been there attained. The negro in the North has equal, if not superior advantages to the mass of poor white men. Our public institutions afford him the advantages of an education; and the partiality of the negroites furnishes him with every advantage for the prosecution of business. It cannot, however, be boasted, that his intellectual character has been materially elevated, or his moral nature greatly improved. The free blacks are, in the mass, the most ignorant, voluptuous, idle, vicious, impoverished, and degraded population of this country. They are seldom seen pursuing regular trades, and avoid all continuous labor with characteristic solicitude. They have sunk lower than the Southern slaves, and constitute but a melancholy proof of the advantages of abolition.” 227—230.

HAYTIEN INSURRECTION.

“ 1. The first act of open rebellion took place, on the Cape, in August, 1791. The slaves murdered the whites, and burned all the improvements. The slaves of the neighbouring plantations joined them ; and the whole South was threatened with ruin.

set it before them in the same splendor as they were wont to do, when receiving their best and dearest friends. Gautier drank freely, and his compeers did no little justice to the rich repast. Night coming on, and apprehensive of the consequences of a surprise from the enemy's force, they began to deliberate upon what plan they should adopt to secure their unhappy captives from flight, when, not being able to devise any thing likely to be effectual, they came to the savage resolution of murdering them all. The daughters were locked up in a room, under the watch of two of the revolvers, whilst the remainder of them commenced the bloody task by bayoneting the two sons. The mother, on her knees, imploring mercy with pitiful cries, met with the same fate; whilst the husband, who was bound hand and foot, was barbarously mangled by having first his arms, and then his legs cut off, and afterwards run through the body. During this blood-thirsty scene, the daughters, ignorant of the tragic end of their parents, were in a state of alarm and terror not to be described, yet hoping that their lives were safe. But, alas! how deceitful that hope! for their destiny was fixed, and their time but short. Gautier and his diabolical associates went into their room, stripped them naked, and committed on their defenceless persons the most brutal enormities, when, with the dead bodies of their parents, they were thrown into the flames, which were then surrounding them, where they all perished." 262—263.

"4. On the first of January, 1804, Hayti was declared independent. Dessalines, who had been in-

policy of the National Government divided and distracted the free inhabitants of the colony." 260.

"3. When the revolvers first entered the city, every man, woman, and child, were bayoneted or cut down with such instruments as they could muster; but the young females were, in most cases, spared for the momentary gratification of the lust of those into whose hands they fell; one case of the most singular enormity took place:—the leader of the revolted slaves, named Gautier, had entered the house of a respectable merchant in the square, in which were the proprietor, his wife, his two sons and three daughters. The sons were young, not exceeding the age of ten, but the daughters were elegant young women, the eldest about eighteen, and the youngest not exceeding fourteen. Gautier, assisted by one or two wretches, equally inhuman, promised to spare the family, on account of his having received many acts of kindness from the father, to whom he was often sent by his master on business, he being a domestic slave. These poor creatures, who were at first half expiring from the terror of the scene around them, and from the idea of being the captives of barbarians, recovered somewhat from the alarm into which they had been thrown, through the promises of security, thus unconditionally pledged to them; and although not permitted to go out of the sight of their captors, they did not apprehend that any mischief was in embryo, and that their lives were to be sacrificed. Impressed with the idea of safety, they proceeded to prepare a repast for their supposed guardians, and

would be spared, than, leaving their hiding places, they ran with eagerness to the place announced for issuing the tickets, when they were immediately seized and led away for instant execution.' " 266-267.

" 5. The population of the island previous to the revolution was estimated at 643,000. The population in 1802 was estimated by Humboldt at 375,000. Such were the ravages of the revolution. The population in 1826 appears to have been 423,042. The increase of population is estimated at sixty-one hundredths per cent., which is very little more than one half the increase in densely peopled countries. The people of Hayti are universally described as idle, improvident, licentious and immoral. Mackenzie, the British consul, in his report to government says, —' No measures of the government can induce the young creoles to labor, or depart from their habitual licentiousness and vagrancy.' 'The few young females that live on plantations seldom assist in any labor whatever, but live in a constant state of idleness and debauchery. This is tolerated by the soldiery and military police, whose licentiousness is gratified by this means.' 'Marriage, formally solemnized, is not so common as unions of another kind; and it is not uncommon for one man to be the protector of many women.'

" 'In the interior,' says Franklin, 'the people are in the lowest state of moral degradation—every thing shows it—their habits and manner of living. In secluded places they congregate, and follow all the propensities of nature; and indulge in all the vices of lust and sensuality, without limits, and

without control. It is not possible, I think, for any one to visit their habitations without returning from them with the conviction that their present state is much below anything that can be imagined to have existed in the worst state of society in any part of the world. In the new republics of South America, in which society is very backward also, the prevailing habits present some appearance of improvement; but in the country districts of Hayti there are no demonstrations of advancement from that deplorable ignorance in which they seem to have existed from the period of the revolution; no change in their loose and dissolute manners and customs, but a fixed and determined perseverance in all the primitive vices of the African race." 269—270.

CHAPTER XVI.

CARLYLE'S LETTER.

"MY PHILANTHROPIC FRIENDS,—It is my painful duty to address some words to you, this evening, on the Rights of Negroes. Taking, as we hope we do, an extensive survey of social affairs, which we find all in a state of the frightfullest embroilment, and, as it were, of inextricable final bankruptcy, just at present; and being desirous to adjust ourselves in that huge upbreak, and unutterable welter of tumbling ruins, and to see well that our grand proposed Association of Associations, the *Universal Abolition-of-Pain-Association*, which is meant to be the consummate golden flower and summary of modern Philanthropisms all in one, do *not* issue as a universal "Sluggard-and-Scoundrel Protection Society,"—we have judged that, before constituting ourselves, it would be very proper to commune earnestly, with one another, and discourse together on the leading elements of our great Problem, which surely is one of the greatest. With this view the council has decided, both that the Negro Question, as lying at the bottom, was to be the first handled, and if possible the first settled; and then also, what was of much more questionable wisdom, that—that, in short, I was to be speaker on the occasion. An honorable duty; yet, as I said, a painful one!—Well, you shall hear what I have to say on the matter; and you will not in the least like it.

"West Indian affairs, as we all know, and some

of us know to our cost, are in a rather troublous condition this good while. In regard to West Indian affairs, however, Lord John Russell is able to comfort us with one fact, indisputable, where so many are dubious. That the negroes are all very happy, and doing well. A fact very comfortable, indeed. West Indian whites, it is admitted, are far enough from happy; West Indian colonies not unlike sinking wholly into ruin: at home too, the British whites are rather badly off; several millions of them hanging on the verge of continual famine; and, in single towns, many thousands of them very sore put to it, at this time, not to live 'well,' or as a man should, in any sense, temporal or spiritual, but to live at all:—these, again, are uncomfortable facts; and they are extremely extensive and important ones. But, thank heaven, our interesting black population—equalling almost in number of heads one of the ridings of Yorkshire, and in *worth* (in quantity of intellect, faculty, docility, energy, and available human valor and value) perhaps one of the streets of Seven dials—are all doing remarkably well. 'Sweet blighted lilies,'—as the American epitaph on the nigger child has it—sweet blighted lilies, they are holding up their heads again! How pleasant, in the universal bankruptcy abroad, and dim dreary stagnancy at home, as if for England too there remained nothing but to suppress Chartist riots, banish united Irishmen, vote the supplies, and *wait* with arms crossed till black anarchy and social death devoured us also, as it has done the others; how pleasant to have always this fact to

fall back upon: Our beautiful black darlings are at last happy; with little labor except to the teeth, *which* surely, in those excellent horse jaws of theirs, will not fail!

“Exeter Hall, my philanthropic friends, has had its way in this matter. The twenty millions, a mere trifle, despatched with a single dash of the pen, are paid; and, far over the sea, we have a few black persons rendered extremely ‘free’ indeed. Sitting yonder with their beautiful muzzles up to the ears in pumpkins, imbibing sweet pulps and juices; the grinder and incisor teeth ready for every new work, and the pumpkins cheap as grass in those rich climates; while the sugar crops rot round them uncut, because labor cannot be hired, so cheap are the pumpkins;—and at home we are but required to rasp from the breakfast loaves of our own English laborers some slight ‘differential sugar duties,’ and lend a poor half million, or a few more millions, now and then, to keep that beautiful state of matters going on. A state of matters lovely to contemplate, in these emancipated epochs of the human mind; which has earned us not only the praises of Exeter Hall, and loud, long-eared hallelujahs of laudatory psalmody from the friends of freedom everywhere, but lasting favor (it is hoped) from the Heavenly Powers themselves;—which may, at least, justly appeal to the Heavenly Powers, and ask them, if ever, in terrestrial procedure, they saw the match of it? Certainly in the past history of the human species it has no parallel; nor, one hopes, will it have in the future.

"Sunk in deep froth oceans of 'Benevolence,' 'Fraternity,' 'Emancipation-principle,' 'Christian Philanthropy,' and other most amiable looking, but most baseless, and in the end baleful and all-bewildering jargon—sad product of a sceptical eighteenth century, and of poor human hearts left *destitute* of any earnest guidance, and disbelieving that there ever was any, Christian or heathen, and reduced to believe in rosepink sentimentalism alone, and to cultivate the same under its Christian, anti-Christian, broad-brimmed, Brutus-headed, and other forms—has not the human species gone strange roads during that period? and poor Exeter Hall, cultivating the broad-brimmed form of Christian sentimentalism, and long talking and bleating and braying in that strain has it not worked out results? Our West India legislatings, with their spoutings, anti-spoutings, and interminable jangle and babble; our twenty millions down on the nail for blacks of our own; thirty gradual millions more, and many brave British lives to boot, in watching blacks of other people's; and now, at last, our ruined sugar estates, differential sugar duties, 'immigration loan,' and beautiful blacks sitting there up to the ears in pumpkins, and doleful whites sitting here without potatoes to eat; never, till now, I think, did the sun look down on such a jumble of human nonsenses;—of which, with the two hot nights of the Missing-Despatch Debate,* God grant that the measure

* "Does any reader now remember it? A cloudy reminiscence of some such thing, and of noise in the newspapers upon it, remains with us—fast hastening to abolition for every man."

might now at last be full! But no, it is not yet full; we have a long way to travel back, and terrible flounderings to make, and in fact an immense load of nonsense to dislodge from our poor heads, and manifold cobwebs to rend from our poor eyes, before we get into the road again, and can begin to act as serious men that have work to do in this Universe, and no longer as windy sentimentalists, that merely have speeches to deliver and despatches to write. Oh Heaven, in West Indian matters, and in all manner of matters, it is so with us—the more is the sorrow!

“The West Indies, it appears, are short of labor; as indeed is very conceivable in those circumstances. Where a black man, by working half an hour a day, (such is the calculation,) can supply himself, by aid of sun and soil, with as much pumpkin as will suffice, he is likely to be a little stiff to raise into hard work! Supply and demand, which, science says, should be brought to bear on him, have an uphill task of it with such a man. Strong sun supplies itself gratis, rich soil, in those unpeopled or half-peopled regions, almost gratis; these are *his* supply; and half an hour a day, directed upon these, will produce pumpkin, which is his ‘demand.’ The fortunate black man, very swiftly does he settle *his* account with supply and demand;—not so swiftly the less fortunate white man of these tropical localities. He himself cannot work; and his black neighbor, rich in pumpkin, is in no haste to help him. Sunk to the ears in pumpkin, imbibing saccharine juices, and much at his ease in the creation,

he can listen to the less fortunate white man's 'demand,' and take his own time in supplying it. Higher wages, massa; higher, for your cane-crop cannot wait; still higher—till no conceivable opulence of cane-crop will cover such wages! In Demerara, as I read in the blue book of last year, the cane-crop, far and wide, stands rotting; the fortunate black gentlemen, strong in their pumpkins, having all struck till the 'demand' rise a little. Sweet blighted lilies, now getting up their heads again!

"Science, however, has a remedy still. Since the demand is so pressing, and the supply so inadequate, (equal in fact to *nothing* in some places, as appears,) increase the supply; bring more blacks into the labor-market, then will the rate fall, says science. Not the least surprising part of our West Indian policy is this recipe of 'immigration;' of keeping down the labor-market in those islands by importing new Africans to labor and live there. If the Africans that are already there could be made to lay down their pumpkins, and labor for their living, there are already Africans enough. If the new Africans, after laboring a little, take to pumpkins like the others, what remedy is there? To bring in new and ever new Africans, say you, till pumpkins themselves grow dear; till the country is crowded with Africans; and black men there, like white men here, are forced by hunger to labor for their living? That will be a consummation. To have 'emancipated' the West Indies into a *Black Ireland*—'free,' indeed, but an Ireland, and black! The

world may yet see prodigies, and reality be stranger than a nightmare dream.

“Our own white or sallow Ireland, sluttishly starving from age to age on its act-of-parliament ‘freedom,’ was hitherto the flower of mismanagement among the nations; but what will this be to a Negro Ireland, with pumpkins themselves fallen scarce like potatoes? Imagination cannot fathom such an object; the belly of Chaos never held the like. The human mind, in its wide wanderings, has not dreamt yet of such a ‘freedom’ as that will be. Towards that, if Exeter Hall and science of supply and demand are to continue our guides in the matter, we are daily travelling, and even struggling, with loans of half a million and such like, to accelerate ourselves. * * *

“In fact, it will behove us of this English nation to overhaul our West Indian procedure from top to bottom; and to ascertain a little better what it is that fact and nature demand of us, and what only Exeter Hall wedded to the Dismal Science demands. To the former set of demands we will endeavor, at our peril—and worse peril than our purse’s, at our soul’s peril—to give all obedience. To the latter we will very frequently demur; and try if we cannot stop short where they contradict the former; and especially *before* arriving at the black throat of ruin, whither they appear to be leading us. Alas, in many other provinces besides the West Indian, that unhappy wedlock of Philanthropic Liberalism and the Dismal Science has engendered such all-enveloping delusions, of the

moon-calf sort; and wrought huge woe for us, and for the poor civilized world, in these days. And sore will be the battle with said moon-calves; and terrible the struggle to return out of our delusions, floating rapidly on which, not the West Indies alone, but Europe generally, is nearing the Niagara Falls.

["Here various persons, in an agitated manner, with an air of indignation, left the room; especially one very tall gentleman in white trousers, whose boots creaked much. The president, in a resolved voice, with a look of official rigor, whatever his own private feelings might be, enjoined, 'Silence! Silence!' The meeting again sat motionless.'"]

"My philanthropic friends, can you discern no fixed headlands in this wide-weltering deluge of benevolent twaddle and revolutionary grape-shot that has burst forth on us; no sure bearings at all? Fact and Nature, it seems to me, say a few words to us, if happily we have still an ear for fact and nature. Let us listen a little, and try.

"And first, with regard to the West Indies, it may be laid down as a principle, which no eloquence in Exeter Hall, or Westminster Hall, or elsewhere, can invalidate or hide, except for a short time only, that no black man, who will not work according to what ability the gods have given him for working, has the smallest right to eat pumpkin, or to any fraction of land that will grow pumpkin, however plentiful such land may be; but has an indisputable and perpetual *right* to be compelled, by the real proprietors of said land to do competent work for his living.

This is the everlasting duty of all men, black or white, who are born into this world. To do competent work, to labor honestly according to the ability given them; for that, and for no other purpose, was each one of us sent into this world; and woe is to every man who, by friend or by foe, is prevented from fulfilling this the end of his being. That is the 'unhappy' lot; lot equally unhappy cannot otherwise be provided for man. Whatsoever prohibits or prevents a man from this his sacred appointment to labor while he lives on earth—that, I say, is the man's deadliest enemy; and all men are called upon to do what is in their power or opportunity towards delivering him from it. If it be his own indolence that prevents and prohibits him, then his own indolence is the enemy he must be delivered from; and the first 'right' he has—poor indolent blockhead, black or white—is, that every *un*-prohibited man, whatsoever wiser, more industrious person may be passing that way, shall endeavor to 'emancipate' him from his indolence, and by some wise means, as I said, compel him to do the work he is fit for. This is the eternal law of nature for a man, my beneficent Exeter Hall friends; this, that he shall be permitted, encouraged, and, if need be, compelled to do what work the Maker of him has intended by the making of him for this world. Not that he should eat pumpkin with never such felicity in the West India Islands is, or can be, the blessedness of our black friend; but that he should do useful work there, according as the gifts have been bestowed on him for that. And his own happiness,

and that of others around him, will alone be possible by his and their getting into such a relation that this can be permitted him, and in case of need that this can be compelled him. I beg you to understand this; for you seem to have a little forgotten it, and there lie a thousand inferences in it, not quite useless for Exeter Hall, at present. The idle black man in the West Indies had not long since the right, and will again under better form, if it please Heaven, have the right (actually the first 'right of man' for an indolent person) to be *compelled* to work as he was fit, and to *do* the Maker's will, who had constructed him with such and such prefigurements of capability. And I incessantly pray Heaven, all men, the whitest alike and the blackest, the richest and the poorest, in other regions of the world, had attained precisely the same right, the divine right of being compelled, (if 'permitted' will not answer) to do what work they are appointed for, and not to go idle another minute, in a life so short! Alas, we had then a perfect world! and the millenium, and true 'organization of labor,' and reign of complete blessedness, for all workers and men, had then arrived—which, in these our own poor districts of the planet, as we all lament to know, it is very far from having yet done.

"Let me suggest another consideration withal. West India Islands, still full of waste fertility, produce abundant pumpkins; pumpkins, however, you will please to observe, are not the sole requisite for human well-being. No; for a pig they are the one thing needful—but for a man, they are only the first

of several things needful. And now, as to the right of chief management in cultivating those West India lands; as to the 'right of property' so called, and of doing what you like with your own. The question is abstruse enough. Who it may be that has a right to raise pumpkins and other produce on those islands, perhaps none can, except temporarily, decide. The islands are good withal, for pepper, for sugar, for sago, arrow-root, for coffee, perhaps for cinnamon and precious spices—things far nobler than pumpkins, and leading towards commerces, arts, politics, and social developments, which alone are the noble product, where men (and not pigs with pumpkins) are the parties concerned! Well, all this fruit, too, fruit spicy and commercial, fruit spiritual and celestial, so far beyond the merely pumpkinish and grossly terene, lies in the West India lands; and the ultimate 'propriatorship' of them—why, I suppose, it will vest in him who can the *best* educe from them whatever of noble produce they were created fit for yielding. He, I compute, is the real 'Vicegerent of the Maker' there; in him, better and better chosen, and not in another, is the 'property' vested by decree of Heaven's chancery itself!

"Up to this time it is the Saxon British mainly; they hitherto have cultivated with some manfulness; and when a manfuller class of cultivators, stronger, worthier to have such land, abler to bring fruit from it, shall make their appearance, they, doubt it not, by fortune of war and other confused negotiation and vicissitude, will be declared by Nature and

Fact to *be* the worthier, and will become proprietors—perhaps also only for a time. That is the law, I take it; ultimate, supreme, for all lands in all countries under this sky. The one perfect eternal proprietor is the Maker who created them; the temporary better or worse proprietor is he whom the Maker has sent on that mission; he who the best hitherto can educe from said lands the beneficent gifts the Maker endowed them with; or, which is but another definition of the same person, he who leads hitherto the manfullest life on that bit of soil, doing better than another yet found can do, the Eternal Purpose and Supreme Will there.

“And now observe, my friends, it was not Black Quashee, or those he represents, that made those West India Islands what they are, or can by any hypothesis be considered to have the right of growing pumpkins there. For countless ages, since they first mounted oozy on the back of earthquakes, from their dark bed in the ocean deeps, and reeking saluted the tropical sun, and ever onwards till the European white man first saw them some three short centuries ago, those islands had produced mere jungle, savagery, poison-reptiles, and swamp-malaria; till the white European first saw them, they were as if not yet created—their noble elements of cinnamon, sugar, coffee, pepper, (black and gray,) lying all asleep, waiting the white Enchanter who should say to them, Awake! Till the end of human history and the sounding of the trump of doom, they might have lain so, had Quashee and the like of him been the only artists in the game. Swamps,

fever-jungles, man-eating Caribs, rattle-snakes, and reeking waste and putrefaction—this had been the produce of them under the incompetent Caribal (what we call cannibal) possessors till that time; and Quashee knows, himself, whether ever he could have introduced an improvement. Him, had he by a miraculous chance been wafted thither, the Caribals would have eaten, rolling him as a fat morsel under their tongue; for him, till the sounding of the trump of doom, the rattle-snakes and savageries would have held on their way. It was not he, then; it was another than he! Never by art of his could one pumpkin have grown there to solace any human throat; nothing but savagery and reeking putrefaction could have grown there. These plentiful pumpkins I say, therefore, are not his; no, they are another's; they are his only under conditions—conditions which Exeter Hall, for the present, has forgotten; but which Nature and the Eternal Powers have by no manner of means forgotten, but do at all moments keep in mind; and, at the right moment, will, with the due impressiveness, perhaps in rather a terrible manner, bring again to our mind also!”

“If Quashee will not honestly aid in bringing out those sugars, cinnamons, and nobler products of the West India Islands, for the benefit of all mankind, then I say neither will the powers permit Quashee to continue growing pumpkins there for his own lazy benefit; but will sheer him out, by and bye, like a lazy gourd overshadowing rich ground; him and all that partake with him—per-

haps in a very terrible manner. For, under favor of Exeter Hall, the 'terrible manner' is not yet quite extinct with the destinies in this universe; nor will it quite cease, I apprehend, for soft sawder or philanthropic stump-oratory now or henceforth.

"No; the gods wish, besides pumpkins that spices and valuable products be grown in their West Indies; thus much they have declared in so making the West Indies:—infinitely more they wish, that manful industrious men occupy their West Indies, not indolent two-legged cattle, however 'happy' over their abundant pumpkins! Both these things we may be assured, the immortal gods have decided upon, passed their eternal act of parliament for; and both of them, though all terrestrial parliaments and entities oppose it to the death, shall be done. Quashee, if he will not help in bringing out the spices, will get himself made a slave again, (which state will be a little less ugly than his present one,) and with beneficent whip, since other methods avail not, will be compelled to work. Or, alas, let him look across to Haiti, and trace a far sterner prophecy! Let him by his ugliness, idleness, rebellion, banish all white men from the West Indies, and make it all one Haiti—with little or no sugar growing, black Peter exterminating black Paul, and, where a garden of the Hesperides might be, nothing but a tropical dog-kennel and pestiferous jungle—does he think that will forever continue pleasant to gods and men? I see men, the rose pink cant all peeled away from them, land one day on those black coasts; men *sent* by the laws of this universe, and

the inexorable course of things; men hungry for gold, remorseless, fierce as old Buccaneers were;—and a doom for Quashee which I had rather not contemplate! The gods are long suffering; but the law from the beginning was, He that will not work shall perish from the earth, and the patience of the gods has limits!

“Before the West Indies could grow a pumpkin for any negro, how much European heroism had to spend itself in obscure battle; to sink, in mortal agony, before the jungles, the putrescences and waste savageries could become arable, and the devils be in some measure chained there! The West Indies grow pine-apples, and sweet fruits, and spices; we hope they will one day grow beautiful heroic human lives too, which is surely the ultimate object they were made for: beautiful souls and brave; sages, poets, what not; making the earth nobler around them, as their kindred from of old have been doing; true ‘splinters of the old Harz Rock;’ heroic white men, worthy to be called old Saxons, browned with a mahogany tint in those new climates and conditions. But under the soil of Jamaica, before it could even produce spices or any pumpkin, the bones of many thousand British men had to be laid. Brave Col. Fortescue, brave Col. Sedgwick, brave Col. Brayne—the dust of many thousand strong old English hearts lies there; worn down swiftly in frightful travail, chaining the devils which were manifold. Heroic Blake contributed a bit of his life to that Jamaica. A bit of the great protector’s own life lies there; beneath those pump-

kins lies a bit of the life that was Oliver Cromwell's. How the great Protector would have rejoiced to think that all this was to issue in growing pumpkins to keep Quashee in a comfortable idle condition ! No ; that is not the ultimate issue ; not that.

“ The West Indian whites, so soon as this bewilderment of philanthropic jargon abates from them, and their poor eyes get to discern a little what the facts are and what the laws are, will strike into another course, I apprehend ! I apprehend they will, as a preliminary, resolutely *refuse* to permit the black man any privilege whatever of pumpkins till he agree for work in return. Not a square inch of soil in those fruitful isles, purchased by British blood, shall any black man hold to grow pumpkins for him, except on terms that are fair towards Britain. Fair ; see that they be not unfair, not towards ourselves, and still more, not towards him. For injustice is *forever* accursed : and precisely our unfairness towards the enslaved black man has—by inevitable revulsion and fated turn of the wheel—brought about these present confusions. Fair towards Britain it will be, that Quashee give work for privilege to grow pumpkins. Not a pumpkin Quashee, not a square yard of soil, till you agree to do the state so many days of service. Annually that soil will grow you pumpkins ; but annually also without fail shall you, for the owner thereof, do your appointed days of labor. The state has plenty of waste soil ; but the state will religiously give you none of it on other terms. The state wants sugar from these islands, and means to have it ; wants virtuous industry in

these islands, and must have it. The state demands of you such service as will bring these results, this latter result which includes all. Not a black Ireland, by immigration and boundless black supply for the demand; not that—may the gods forbid!—but a regulated West Indies, with black working population in adequate numbers; all ‘happy’ if they find it possible; and *not* entirely unbeautiful to gods and men, which latter result they *must* find possible! All ‘happy’ enough; that is to say, all working according to the faculty they have got, making a little more divine this earth which the gods have given them. Is there any other ‘happiness’—if it be not that of pigs fattening daily to the slaughter? So will the state speak by and bye.”

“The thing must be done everywhere; *must* is the word. Only it is so terribly difficult to do; and will take generations yet, this of getting our rich European white men ‘set to work!’ But yours in the West Indies, my obscure black friends, your work, and the getting of you set to it, is a simple affair; and by diligence, the West Indian legislatures, and royal governors, setting their faces fairly to the problem, will get it done. You are not ‘slaves’ now; nor, do I wish, if it can be avoided, to see you slaves again; but decidedly you will have to be servants to those that are born *wiser* than you, that are born lords of you—servants to the whites, if they *are* (as what mortal can doubt they are?) born wiser than you. That, you may depend on it, my obscure black friends, is and was always the

law of the world, for you and for all men : to *be* servants, the more foolish of us to the more wise ; and only sorrow, futility and disappointment will betide both, till both in some approximate degree get to conform to the same. Heaven's laws are not repealable by earth, however earth may try—and it has been trying hard, in some directions, of late ! I say, no well being, and in the end no being at all, will be possible for you or us, if the law of Heaven is not complied with. And if 'slave' mean essentially 'servant hired for life'—for life, or by a 'contract of long continuance, and not easily dissoluble—I ask, Whether in all human things, the 'contract of long continuance' is not precisely the contract to be desired, were the right terms once found for it ? Servant hired for life were the right terms once found, which I do not pretend they are, seems to me much preferable to servant hired for the month, or by contract dissoluble in a day. An ill-situated servant, that ;—servant grown to be *nomadic* ; between whom and his master a good relation *cannot* easily spring up !”

“ Already one hears of black *Adscripti glebæ* ; which seems a promising arrangement, one of the first to suggest itself in such a complicity. It appears the Dutch blacks, in Java, are already a kind of *Adscripts*, after the manner of the old European serfs ; bound by royal authority, to give so many days of work a year. Is not this something like a real approximation ; the first step towards all manner of such ? Wherever, in British territory, there exists a black man, and needful work to the just ex-

tent is not to be got out of him, such a law in defect of better, should be brought to bear upon said black man ! How many laws of like purport, conceivable some of them, might be brought to bear upon the black man and the white, with all despatch, by way of solution, instead of dissolution to their complicated case just now ! On the whole, it ought to be rendered possible, ought it not, for white men to live beside black men, and in some just manner to command black men, and produce West Indian fruitfulness by means of them ? West Indian fruitfulness will need to be produced. If the English cannot find the method for that, they may rest assured there will another come (Brother Jonathan or still another) who can. He it is whom the gods will bid continue in the West Indies ; bidding us ignominiously, Depart, ye quack-ridden, incompetent !"—

CHAPTER XVII.

QUOTATIONS FROM BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE.

It is now time that I should examine the effects of emancipation in the British West Indies; for it would be deemed criminal to shrink from noticing this part of the subject. The most able essay I have seen relative to emancipation is to be found in "Blackwood's Magazine" for February, 1848. I do not give the whole article, only a portion.

"Immediately after the Emancipation Act was passed, the produce of the West Indian estates began rapidly to decline, and their value to be correspondingly depreciated. This was the inevitable consequence of the abridgment of the working hours, and of the withdrawal of a great number of laborers altogether from plantation employment. In fact, the want of adequate labor began to be felt most painfully throughout the colonies. Notwithstanding this, the planters went on, making every exertion they could, under peculiarly difficult circumstances.

"The increased expense, occasioned by the altered circumstances of the colonies, soon absorbed more than the compensation money which they had received, and in addition, they were urged by Government to provide 'more fully for the administration of justice, for the consolidation of the criminal law, for establishing circuit courts, amending the workhouse laws, improving the state of goals, for better prison discipline, establishing weekly courts of petit sessions, providing places of confinement for

prisoners, raising an efficient police, &c. ; things no doubt, very desirable in themselves, but not to be accomplished save at a grievous cost, which, of course, was thrown entirely upon the shoulders of the planters. The following extract from the answer of the Jamaica Assembly, in reply to the Governor's address at the opening of that chamber on the 4th of August, 1835, will show the state of the colonies at the close of the year immediately subsequent to emancipation :

“ ‘Seeing large portions of our neglected cane-fields becoming overrun with weeds, and a still larger portion of our pasture lands returning to a state of nature: seeing, in fact, desolation already overspreading the face of the land, it is impossible for us, without abandoning the evidence of our own senses, to entertain favorable anticipations, or to divest ourselves of the painful conviction, that progressive and rapid deterioration of property will continue to keep pace with the apprenticeship, and that its termination must (unless strong preventive measures be applied) complete the ruin of the colony.’ ”

“ We now come to a matter extremely painful in itself, inasmuch as it involves a gross, flagrant, and dishonorable breach of our plighted faith. The colonies which had already suffered so much, even under the apprentice system, again became the object of fierce attack by the Liberal party of England. Every one knows how easy it is to get up a shout upon any vague pretext of humanity, and how frequently the credulity of the people of England

has been imposed on by specious and designing hypocrites. With this set of men Africa has been for many years a pet subject of complaint. They have made the wrongs of the negro a short and profitable cut to fame and fortune, and their spurious philanthropy has never failed to engage the support of a large number of weak but well-meaning individuals, who are totally ignorant of the real objects which lie at the bottom of the agitation. Utterly regardless of the nature of the bargain so recently and solemnly made, throwing aside and trampling upon national honor with unparalleled effrontery, these men began to denounce apprenticeship in the colonies as something worse than slavery, and to demand its instant abolition. The subject of declamation was a popular one, and unfortunately it gathered strength. No one thought of the condition of the colonists, who had been already subjected to so much hardship, and to whom the continuance of apprenticeship for a certain period had been solemnly and advisedly guaranteed. The spirit of our constitution does not recognise the presence of any representation of the colonies within the walls of the Imperial Parliament: and although it is popularly, or rather ludicrously, said that Jamaica is as much a portion of the British dominions as Yorkshire, we have no hesitation in meting out to the one a measure of injustice which no Parliament and no Minister would dare to venture in the case of the other. To our shame therefore be it said, that the agitation so subversive of good faith and of public morals, was crowned with success. Two years of the ap-

prentice period were curtailed. A robbery to that extent—for it was nothing else—was perpetrated upon the unfortunate colonists, and on the 1st of August, 1838, unqualified freedom was granted to the negro population.

“The following were the immediate and extremely natural consequences:—‘There was no violence; the mass of the laboring population being left in quiet possession of the houses and grounds on the estates of their masters. For successive weeks universal idleness reigned over the whole island. The plantation cattle, deserted by their keepers, ranged at large through the growing crops, and fields of cane, cultivated at great cost, rotted upon the ground for want of hands to cut them. Among the humbler classes of society, respectable families, whose sole dependence had been a few slaves, had to perform for themselves the most menial offices. Still the same baneful influence continued to rule the Government. In all cases of difference, the stipendiary magistrates supported the emancipated mass against the helpless proprietor, and even took an active part in supporting the demands of the people for an extravagant rate of wages, alike injurious to both classes.’

“So much for the ‘sympathy’ which was extended to the colonists for their ready acquiescence in the Act of Emancipation! Like most Whig promises, it had served its purpose, and was thereafter cast aside and forgotten. It might naturally be supposed that this violent curtailment of the period of apprenticeship, would, out of mere shame, have im-

pressed ministers with the propriety of doing something for the relief of the colonies—not by way of actual pecuniary assistance, which was never asked—but by giving every facility in their power to the introduction of free labor from every quarter whence it could be hired or obtained. However, a course diametrically opposite was immediately pursued; and, up to the present time, no facilities whatever for procuring labor have been given to the colonists, and every obstacle has been thrown in the way of the importation of free laborers from the coast of Africa.

“Under such a system the decline of the colonies was, as a matter of course, inevitable. The following is the Jamaica statement of the relative amount and value of the exports of that island at various periods :—

“The destructive results to property, by the changes thus precipitately forced on the colony, will be best manifested by a reference to the exports of our three great staples—sugar, rum, and coffee.

	Hhds. Sugar, at £30.	Punch, Rum, at £10.	lbs. Coffee, at 60s. per 100 lbs.	Annual Value.
Average of the five years ending 1807, last of the African trade . .	131,962	50,462	23,625,377	3,852,621
Average of the five years ending 1815, date of Registry Act	118,490	48,726	24,394,790	3,588,903
Average of the five years ending 1823, date of Canning's resolutions	110,924	41,046	18,792,909	3,192,637
Average of the five years ending 1833, last five of slavery	95,353	35,505	17,645,602	2,791,478
Average of the five years ending 1843, first five of freedom	42,453	14,185	7,412,498	1,213,284

“Up to 1807, the exports of Jamaica progressively rose as cultivation was extended. From that date they have been gradually sinking; but we more especially entreat attention to the evidence here adduced of the effect of emancipation, which, in ten years, reduced the annual value of

the three principal staples from £2,791,478, to £1,213,284, being in the proportion of seven to sixteen, or equal, at five per cent., to an investment of about thirty-two millions of property annihilated. We believe the history of the world would be in vain searched for any parallel case of oppression, perpetrated by a civilized government upon any section of its own subjects.' ”

“ In other places the alteration and decline has been even more startling. The following table exhibits the state of exports from British Guiana, at intervals of three years, beginning with 1827, and ending as above with 1843 :—

Year.	Sugar Hhds.	Rum Puncheons.	Molasses Casks.	Cotton Bales.	Coffee, lbs. Dutch.
1827	71,168	22,362	28,226	15,904	8,063,752
1830	69,717	32,939	21,189	5,423	9,602,756
1833	63,415	17,824	44,508	3,699	5,704,482
1836	57,142	24,202	37,088	3,196	4,801,352
1839	38,491	16,070	12,134	1,364	1,583,250
1843	35,738	8,296	24,937	24	1,428,100

“ And during the whole period of those changes, there was a constantly augmenting consumption in the mother country of all the articles of colonial produce !

“ The causes of this extraordinary decline of production are abundantly clear, and the facts now adduced ought to cover with confusion those ignorant and pragmatistical personages who averred that, under a system of free trade, no loss whatever would be sustained by the planters. No doubt, had free labor been ready and attainable, the loss would have been much diminished ; but the misfortune was, that free labor could not be found within the

colonies to anything like the required extent; and neither time nor opportunity were afforded to the planters to obtain it elsewhere. The friends of the African have either persuaded themselves, or endeavored to cheat the public into the belief, that the negro has attained a point of civilization and docility, from which a large proportion of the inhabitants of the British islands are at this moment very widely removed. They promised, on his behalf, that when emancipated, he would set down seriously to work, and, with a heart full of gratitude, proceed to earn his wages by toiling in the service of his employer. It is well for those gentlemen that they did not offer any tangible forfeit in the event of the failure of their protégé. The negro is perhaps more fully alive than any other class of mankind to the luxury of undisturbed idleness. He has few wants, and those few are easily supplied in such a splendid island as Jamaica, where his provision ground, with the smallest possible amount of cultivation, will afford him every necessary, and some of the luxuries of life. What he cannot raise for himself must, of course, be obtained by labor; but a very slight portion indeed of the primal curse now lights upon the emancipated negro, who has no ambition, and consequently no motive to persevere. Thus the negroes abandon themselves to a life of lazy sensuality, and look upon the neglected cane-fields and choked coffee plantations with an eye of utter indifference.

“The great object of the planters, therefore—for the existence of the colonies seems to depend upon

the success of their endeavors,—was to obtain at any cost, and from any quarter whatever, labor which had been perfectly well ascertained that the colonies of Europeans will not admit of their purchase of door labor in a tropical climate, and therefore that labor is out of the question. The native laborers, indeed, have been tried, but they are not fit for the work, and even were it otherwise, the supply from that quarter is limited. Coolies were imported from the East Indies at an enormous expense equal to two-fifths of their wages for a period of years, and after all, it was found that two of them could hardly perform the task which one African could accomplish with ease.

“From all this, and from the experiences of centuries, it is evident that the African alone is naturally suited to undergo with ease and without danger the fatigue of field labor in the colonies which are suited for sugar cultivation.

It presently alludes to the obstacles which have been thrown in the way of obtaining a supply of labor from that quarter; and we think we are able to convince the most scrupulous reader of the line of conduct adopted by the pseudo philanthropists of the African, is one most admirably calculated to foster the state of barbarism, cruelty, ignorance, oppression, and crime, which is the melancholy characteristic of the inhabitants of that unhappy continent. In the meantime, let us go back to the question of our colonies, whose singular case of unmerited neglect and persecution is by no means yet brought to a close.

“In 1842, a committee of the House of Commons

was appointed to inquire into the state of the West India colonies, and from their report, which is now before us, we make the following extract:

“ Resolved, That, unhappily, there has occurred, simultaneously with the amendment in the condition of the negroes, a very great diminution in the staple productions of the West Indies, to such an extent as to have caused serious, and, in some cases, ruinous injury to the proprietors of estates in those colonies.

“ In order that we may understand the true position of the colonies, and the situation in which they have been placed, confessedly by no fault of their own, it will be necessary to ascertain what is the present cost of production of sugar there, under the curtailed and crippled system of free labor, as compared with that of the slave-growing colonies. We apprehend that it will not be denied by any, that the soil, climate, and natural position of Jamaica and of British Guiana are in no way inferior to any in the known world for the growth and cultivation of the sugar-cane. No statement to the contrary has ever yet been hazarded ; and so far as the application of capital can go in rendering production cheap, the British colonies have unquestionably the advantage of the others. Let us look then to the matter of cost.

According to one authority, the Planter of British Guiana, it would be as follows,—

Cost of production in slave countries per ton,	£13	0	0
Cost of production in British Guiana,	25	0	0
	<hr/>		
Difference per ton in favor of the slave market,	£12	0	0

"In other words, slave-grown sugar can be produced at *twelve shillings per cwt.* less than in free colonies, besides the additional advantage of uncontrolled and unlicensed transport.

"The above probably may be taken as the extreme case, because the cost of production has always been great in Demerara, owing to the smallness of the population, but the general hardship will be sufficiently shown and understood by the following extract from the resolutions of a meeting of St. David's parish in Jamaica, on the 2d of October last.

" 'The great influx of slave-grown produce into the home markets has in the short space of six months, reduced the value of sugar from £26 to £14 per ton ; while, under ordinary circumstances of soil and season, the cost to us of placing it in the market is not less than £20 per ton.'

" 'From many calculations,' writes a highly intelligent and experienced correspondent, 'the lowest rate at which sugar *can* be produced, is about twenty shillings per cwt. on the average, or twenty pounds per ton. No doubt some estates may, and do, grow it cheaper than others. They may have advantages of situation both in regard to weather and command of labor, but one thing I am certain of, that no number of estates taken collectively, can grow it much under twelve shillings.'

"With regard to the additional argument against the navigation laws, which certain free trade journals have adroitly contrived to extract from the statement of the planters' grievances, our correspondent

writes,—‘ A long article has been written to show that we have got all that was demanded some years ago, with the exception of the abolition of the navigation laws. This I hold to be a very minor consideration, as, even were these abolished to-morrow, a saving of one shilling per cwt. freights would be the very outside. No doubt a letter appeared in the Times, stating that last year’s freights were six shillings per cwt. from Demerara, which was quite true,—but what are they now? The great rise was caused by every bottom being employed to import grain, which raised freights in America to nine shillings per barrel for flour, which are now one and six pence,—so that shipping of every denomination was dear. These men forget, or will not remember, that we asked for measures which we hoped might benefit us, at a time when we could reasonably calculate upon this country keeping faith with us. But had we *then* been told that in 1846 slave sugar would be introduced at a *nominal* differential duty of seven shillings per cwt., to decrease annually till all sugars were admitted at the same rate, our demand would have been very different. Indeed I have no doubt that many would at once have abandoned their estates; and though a desperate course, it would yet have been the wisest, and those who might have pursued it would have saved a further loss.

“ ‘ I mentioned a *nominal* differential duty. What I mean by that is, that the slave sugars are all so much better manufactured, which the great command of labor enables them to do, that, to the refi-

ner, they are intrinsically worth more than ours. In short, they prepare their sugars, whereas we cannot do so, and we pay duty at the same rate on an article which contains a quantity of molasses. *So that, if the duties were equalized, there would virtually be a bonus on the importation of foreign sugar.* I have a letter before me in which is written,— ‘ Whilst at Jamaica, offers came from the Havana to supply sugar all the year round at 12s. per cwt.; as I said before, in no Jamaica estate can it be grown much under 20s., and assuredly by none at 12s. The refiners estimate the value of Havana in comparison with West India free sugar, as from three to five shillings per cwt. better in point of color and strength. The reason is, that these sugars are partially refined or *clayed*.’

“If these are correct data, and we do not anticipate that they will be impugned, the result will be this :

Cost of production in slave countries per ton,	£12	0	0
Add duty £1 per cwt.,	20	0	0
	<hr/>		
Cost, irrespective of freight,	£32	0	0
Cost of production in free labor colonies,	£20	0	0
Add duty 14s. per cwt.,	14	0	9
Difference of value between slave and free sugar, at the lowest estimate or 3s. per cwt.,	3	0	0
	<hr/>		
Cost, irrespective of freight,	£37	0	0
	<hr/>		

“Such is the amount of *protection* at present enjoyed by our colonists—a protection which, be it remarked, is every year to decrease ! In the present, or second year after the passing of Lord John Rus-

sell's bill, we find that slave grown sugar can be brought into the market at a cost of production less at least by *five pounds per ton* than that of our own colonies! We can now easily understand how it is that, within a very short period, Cuba has increased her exports of sugar from 50,000 to more than 200,000 tons; and we can readily believe that, with such a stimulus as has been given, she may, in as short a period, succeed in doubling the latter quantity. No doubt, in order to effect this, the importation of slaves from Africa must go on with corresponding celerity; but that is a matter which we need not regard, as our present rulers are actually giving an enormous impulse to the trade.

“In a matter of this sort, in which the element of British honor is largely implicated, it in reality matters not who the parties are, whom, by an unjust and inconsistent course of legislation, we are thus oppressing and defrauding. But if self-interest is at all to be taken into view, it may be as well that we should know, that at least three fourths of the capital now jeopardied in our West Indian colonies, is the property of fellow-citizens in this country. The disastrous effects of the Mauritius failures primarily caused and frightfully accelerated by the abolition of the old, and the operation of the new system in that island, were immediately felt by the commercial circles here, and tended greatly to increase that depression which has been experienced in every branch of our trade. If, as is now seriously meditated, and as must be the case should the Whig Cabinet prove equally obstinate as rash, our West

Indian plantations should be abandoned, and the capital already expended as completely sunk as though it had been dropped into the depths of the ocean, we may look for another crisis at home, which will assuredly appal the boldest. Let our financial authorities tell us whether we can under present circumstances, afford to part with an invested capital of two hundred millions, or to throw back into a state of nature and pauperism, colonies which, a very few years ago, consumed annually no less an amount than three millions and a half value of our manufactures? And yet to such results, unless some strong remedial measure be immediately applied, we are most decidedly tending. The depreciation of the value of property in the colonies has been going on for years at a most alarming rate, and we shall now state a few facts upon that point, which we think will convince the most sceptical. We shall begin with Demerara.

"In 1838, the value of the estates, owing to the want of labor had fallen from one-third to a half. The following is the account of some of the estates.

	Price in 1838.	Former Price.
Anna Catherina Estate,	£30,000	£50,000
Providence,	38,000	80,000
Thomas,	20,000	40,000

"In 1840, the depreciation became greater. Here are a few examples:—

Rome and Houston Estate,	£20,000	£100,000
Success,	30,000	55,000
Kitty,	26,000	60,000
William,	18,000	40,000

"In 1844, the 'Groenveldt' estate, formerly valued at £35,000, was sold for £10,000. In 1845, the 'Baillie's Hope' estate, formerly valued at £50,000, was disposed of for £7,000. And in 1846, the 'Haarlem' estate went for £3,500, whereas its previous value was not less than £50,000!

"We have been accustomed of late to fluctuations of property, but it would be difficult to find in any other list of prices such instances of ruinous declension. The above were cases of private sale; let us now look to the estates which were sold by execution in the country, and we shall find a still greater decadence. In the following list, which is that of 1846, the 'Kitty estate,' disposed of in 1840, appears again.

Kitty Estate,	£3,000	£60,000
Nismes,	5,000	55,000
Vryheid's Lust,	5,000	55,000

"Let those persons who think that the planters were amply compensated by the sum of £20,000,000, at the time of emancipation, consider the above figures carefully: and they may arrive at a different conclusion. Let us adopt the argument of the planter, and take the case of the Kitty estate, of the original value of £60,000. Suppose that upon this estate there had been £18,000 of debt, and a clear vested remnant interest to the proprietor of £42,000. Let us further suppose that the property had not changed hands until 1846, when it was brought to sale, and the result will be, that the compensation money, estimated at £15,000, and the price which

the estate fetched in the public market, would barely have sufficed to buy off the mortgage, and the proprietor's £42,000 would have utterly disappeared!

"We are enabled from a private source to carry out the history of one of these Demerara estates. 'We bought it,' says our correspondent, 'or rather we took it over as a bad debt for our mortgage (upwards of £12,000) for £5,000. Of course no person would have had anything to do with it but under the circumstances stated. And to show you that property is now of no value, we may mention that we took an estate over, valued in the year 1825 at £60,000, as a bad debt; and though the estate has been advertised for sale or lease, we cannot get an offer of any kind, and have accordingly determined and sent out orders to abandon it. The works are in first-rate order, and everything complete; therefore you may judge of the sacrifice; which, however, is only imaginary, as the cultivation of this estate, since 1842, has cost us £13,000 more than the produce has yielded. This does not include interest, but the actual wages and expenditure to make crops which have sold for £13,000 less than they cost us to produce. I could enumerate many others, but one is as good as a thousand. The situation of some of the estates is much in their favor, and this was another reason that induced us to take the one alluded to on any terms.

"The West Indians have often been taunted with not adopting the improvements which are introduced in the slave colonies. At the cost of about

£2,000, we sent out last August machinery for that estate, and since then have written out not to unpack it, and, in the serious contemplation of abandoning the estate, have asked the makers of that machinery to take it off our hands, as they have a good many orders for foreign slave-growing countries. I believe, if we determine to sacrifice it, that they will send it to Porto Rico or Havana.'

"The following letter is taken from a late number of a Jamaica newspaper, and we recommend it seriously to the attention of our readers :

"To the Editor of the 'Jamaica Despatch, Chronicle, and Gazette.'

"Coming events cast their shadows before."

"SIR: I have just returned from Lucea, where I have witnessed a sight anything but gratifying to my feelings.

"A vessel has arrived from Trinidad de Cuba, to load with the mill and machinery, coppers, and other apparatus, from Williamsfield Estate in this parish, late the property of Mr. Alexander Grant. The estate has, since Mr. Grant's death, been, from the difficulty of the times, abandoned; and Mr. D'Castro, the owner of the vessel now at Lucea, has purchased the fixtures for an estate settling in Cuba.

"Is not the fate of Jamaica estates foreshadowed in this circumstance? Is it not a melancholy reflection that we are being wantonly sacrificed by our fellow countrymen, solely for the aggrandisement of foreigners?

"It does not require, Mr. Editor, a prophet to foretell the fate of Jamaica's sugar properties, and that for every man's property destroyed here, half a dozen will flourish in Cuba. A new branch of trade is opened to us, and for a few months, no doubt, it will be a brisk one. I would strongly recommend gentlemen who are advertising properties for sale to send the advertisement to Cuba; an estate now is not worth more than the cattle and machinery on it, and our neighbors in Cuba might obtain all the machinery necessary for the settlement of their sugar plantations on very easy terms; and it will be, no doubt, exceedingly agreeable at some future time, when necessity compels us to quit our own country, to seek a living in Cuba, to see our late still, steam engine, or coppers, and if we are particularly fortunate, obtain the superintendence of any one of them.

I am, Mr. Editor, your obedient servant,

HANOVER, OCT. 23, 1847.

A PROPRIETOR.'

“ With such facts and testimony before him, what man in the possession of his reasonable senses can doubt that our West Indian colonies are at this moment upon the verge of ruin ? We use the word in the most literal sense, and we are not very sure that we are justified in retaining the qualification, for ruin, in its worst shape, has already fallen upon many. Lord John Russell is said to be a bold and intrepid man, but there is a weight of responsibility here enough to appal the boldest man that ever held the office of Prime Minister of Britain. The question is not now one of depression of trade. The rashness of former cabinets in dealing with the property of the colonists, and their unaccountable hesitation and delay in granting any remedial measures, or an increased supply of labor, have accomplished *that* already. The question now is, *shall these colonies be at once abandoned?* We look for an answer, not to the colonists, but to Lord John Russell himself. He is the party who has directly consummated their ruin, and from him the country at large are entitled to demand a full explanation of his policy. Is it his purpose that these colonies, once styled the brightest jewels of the British crown, shall be thrown waste and abandoned ? If it is, let him say so boldly. The country will then be enabled to record their opinion of his judgment, and, notwithstanding all that has taken place of late years, we will not do the honest-hearted people of Great Britain the injustice, for one moment, to doubt of the strength and tenor of that opinion. If, as we hope and trust, he never contemplated these results, when

in a rash moment, and perhaps with no unnatural eye to a little temporary popularity, he forced on the measure of 1846, let him say so—let him make the only reparation in his power for former errors; and although much mischief has already been done, the colonies may yet be saved, and a sacrifice so terrible averted.

“ While such is the situation of our own colonies, upon whom we forced emancipation, let us see what is doing in the slave countries, to whom we are handing over our custom. The increase in the sugar produce of Cuba, as we have already seen, is from fifty thousand to two hundred thousand tons, and is still rapidly increasing. The slave trade is going on at a multiplied ratio, and perhaps the friends of the African will be glad to learn a fact, for the correctness of which we can vouch. Not three weeks ago, a large mercantile house in Glasgow received orders to send out a supply of blankets to Cuba, because, as the writer said, the slaves have become so much more valuable, owing to the enhanced price of their produce, and the new sugar market now opened, that the owners must take more care of them. Humanity, it would seem, begins to develope itself when it goes hand in hand with profit.

“ And yet, perhaps, we have used the word ‘humanity’ a little too rashly. Let us hear the testimony of Jacob Omnium, which we extract from his late able letter to Lord John Russell, as to the manner in which our cheap sugar is at present manufactured in Cuba:—

"'I spent,' says that intelligent witness, 'the beginning of this year in Cuba, with a view of ascertaining the preparations which were being made in that island to meet the opening of our markets. To an Englishman coming up from Grenada and Jamaica, the contrast between the paralysed and decayed aspect of the trade of those colonies, and the spirit and activity which your measures had infused into that of the Havana, was most disheartening.

"'The town was illuminated when I landed, in consequence of the news of high prices from England. Three splendid trains of De Rosne's machinery, costing \$40,000 each, had just arrived from France, and were in process of erection; steam-engines and engineers were coming over daily from America; new estates were forming; coffee plantations were being broken up; and their feeble gangs of old people and children who had hitherto been selected for that light work, were formed into task-gangs and hired out by the month to the new *ingenios*, then in full drive.

"'It was crop time: the mills went round night and day. On every estate (I scarcely hope to be believed when I state the fact) *every slave was worked under the whip eighteen hours out of the twenty-four*, and, in the boiling houses, from five to six P. M., and from eleven o'clock to midnight, when half the people were concluding their eighteen hours' work, the sound of the hellish lash was incessant; indeed, it was necessary to keep the overtaken wretches awake.

"'The six hours during which they rested, they spent locked in a barracoon,—a strong, foul, close sty, where they wallowed without distinction of age or sex.

"'There was no marrying amongst the slaves on the plantations, breeding was discouraged; *it was cheaper and less troublesome to buy than to breed*. On many estates females were entirely excluded; but an intelligent American planter told me he disapproved of that system; that the men drooped under it; and that he had found the most beneficial effects from the judicious admixture of a proportion of one 'lively wench' to five males in a gang of which he had charge. Religious instruction and medical aid were not carried out generally beyond baptism and vaccination.

"'Whilst at work the slaves were stimulated by drivers, armed with swords and whips, and protected by magnificent bloodhounds.'

"Gentlemen who clamored for emancipation, in this way is the sugar which you are daily consuming made! You would not have it when produced by slaves in your own colonies, and under the humane protection of your own overrul-

ing laws; you are content to take it now—at the instigation of Mr. Cobden and his confederates, without the slightest scruple or remorse, for having ruined thousands of your countrymen—because you can have it cheaper through the sweat and the life-blood of the slave! Is this morality? Is it justice? Is it even—to descend to lower motives—wisdom? Can you not see before you the time when, after the West Indian colonies are abandoned, a gigantic monopoly will accrue to the slave-growing states, and the sugar, for the paltry saving on which article all has been sacrificed, again become as dear, possibly much dearer than before? Recollect it is not an article like wheat, or any common species of food which can be reared upon every soil. There is but one region of the earth in which it can be grown, and even there it cannot be grown profitably, except through a large expenditure of capital, and by means of an almost limitless command of labor. Cuba and Brazil have both. Our colonies had both in sufficiency, until, by cutting off the one, you almost annihilated the other. Go one step further, or rather continue in the course you have begun a very little longer, and the capital of the West Indian colonies will be wholly and irretrievably dissipated. Irretrievably—for, after what has passed, it is vain to think that any British subject will again embark his capital in such a trade, with no better security than that of our fiscal laws, fluctuating every year under the influence of shortsighted agitation, and regulated by men whose sole intelligible principle is the continued possession of

power. Once let our colonies be annihilated—their capital of nearly two hundred millions be swallowed up, principal and interest—their market, which took from us annually three millions and a half of British manufactures, closed—and the inevitable result will be a monopoly of sugar to the slave-growing states, high prices, and in all probability, which the bullionists ought to consider, a perpetual drain of gold.

“We have quoted only a fraction of the evidence of Jacob Omnium with regard to the present aspect of affairs in Cuba. Much there is of painful and even sickening detail as to the treatment of the slaves, in order that an augmented supply may be thrown in upon our now unscrupulous market, for which we must refer to our readers if they wish to peruse it, to the pamphlet itself. But lest it should be thought that this testimony merely applies to the condition of the unhappy slaves at present in Cuba, we shall go further, and show that the late measure of the Whig government has given a ten-fold additional impetus to the slave-trade; and that all our efforts to restrain it—efforts which, at the smallest calculation, cost this country annually a sum of half a million—are as they must be under such circumstances, wholly futile and unavailing.”

“In February last, says the author of the above letter, ‘the market value of field negroes had risen from 300 to 500 dollars—a price which would speedily bring a supply from the coast. The accounts thence of the number of vessels captured, and of the still greater number seen and heard of, but not captured by our cruisers, bear ready witness to the stimulus which you have afforded to that accursed trade. It is only during the last year that we hear of *steam-slavers* carrying nine hundred and fifty slaves, dipping their flag in derision to our men of war.’”

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONCLUSION.

A COUPLE of years ago men were afraid in Philadelphia to speak out their opinions of the Negro; that day is past—his equality and humanity can be talked of now in any and every company. Were one to have said that no amount of education, or circumstances, or food, or climate, or all united, could ever make aught of a negro than a negro, there were not wanting a certain number of sham humanitarians, fierce as wolves, ready to pounce upon the unfortunate utterer of the truth, and willing to hunt him to the death. This evil had to be arrested—public opinion had to be changed—and the only way to accomplish this was by open and free discussion. I dared the abolitionists to the contest; nearly every speaker was upon their side at the commencement, but one after another changed their opinions, the nature of the evidence, and the character of the authority I cited were so irresistible that the *honest and disinterested, having no selfish motives to blind their eyes to the evidence adduced*, readily adopted the ideas of the great names who had made the science of man and the history of races their especial study.

Open, full, and free discussion will settle this question. In every contest of this kind the Negroites have been ignominiously driven from their strongholds. This must ever be the case where truth and falsehood come in contact. The truth

must and shall prevail; and I am of opinion that a new turn will be given to public opinion in the free States, and the fact be believed, that whenever the white man and the Negro inhabit a warm climate together, there is no other state of society than mastership for the white and slavery for the black race; but this has been so clearly demonstrated by Hammond, Blackwood, and others, that I need not do more than allude to it.

In this place it may not be inappropriate to say something about the free colored people. I speak now of Pennsylvania. Here we have a negroid population numbering over fifty-three thousand. I hold that he would be a pure patriot, and a philanthropist, in every sense of the term, who could rid us of this intolerable curse; who could point out a plan by which this vicious, idle, lazy, mongrel race would be safely deposited in Liberia.

The Shams denounce any attempt at colonization as cruel and tyrannical, thereby displaying their usual ignorance of negro nature. They claim for this species of man the same rights the whites possess; whereas, if they understood the matter, they would know that Negro nature is not Celtic or Saxon nature; they would know that the destiny, constitution, intellect, civilization, and even diseases of the negro are all essentially different from the white. These things the abolitionists know, or ought to know. The plain fact of the matter is, that we must take efficient steps ere long to get rid of our negroes, either by *colonization or otherwise*; but get rid of them we must, and must is the word.

We must appropriate a certain sum annually, to enable those who are willing to emigrate so to do. We must prohibit the introduction of free negroes into our State. We must alter our State constitution for the purpose of enabling us to get rid of this population. And after we have made ample provision to send them in comfort to Africa, should there be any left who would prefer being slaves to the whites instead of free blacks in Liberia, they should have the power to choose, but they must either go there as free, or remain here as slaves. Aside of us they cannot be on terms of equality.

Will the white race ever agree that blacks shall stand beside us on election day, upon the rostrum, in the ranks of the army, in our places of amusement, in places of public worship, ride in the same coaches, railway cars, or steamships? Never! never! nor is it natural or just that this kind of equality should exist. God never intended it; had he so willed it, he would have made all one color. We see clearly that God himself has made the distinction—has made him inferior to the white. Could any body or tribe of negroes maintain the warlike attitude which the Circasian, a typical stock of the Caucasian race do against the armed forces of the Russian Bear. This, I presume, none will attempt to answer in the affirmative. Why, then, all this rant about negro equality, seeing that neither nature or nature's God ever established any such equality.

The arrangement of the authors quoted in the work are perhaps not as complete as some might

desire, but I considered it better to place them in the order they are, and I also deemed it right to say as little as possible myself, but rather to place the opinions of those great minds upon the question of races before our citizens, so that they may be enabled to judge for themselves.

My object is to popularise this question ; and this book has been written to reach the thousands upon thousands who are unable to procure the works of those authors who have treated of the subject.

An abolition meeting is held at a town in Ohio, New York, or Pennsylvania ; speeches are made, negro wrongs are dwelt upon, Burns is quoted, "A man's a man for a' that," and Terence also, *Homo sum et nihil a me alienum puto*, "My black brother," and "all men are created free and equal." The meeting terminates, an impression is made, and frequently even upon strong minds. There are no libraries within reach of them ; the different authors' works are too expensive, and the abolition poison runs through the mental system precisely as hydrophobia does through the physical, until the patient becomes a rabid, raving fanatic. Now this book popularizing this subject, and placing the best authorities for examination, bringing the whole question of races before them in a compact form, will destroy the influence of the knaves and demagogues who care nothing for the happiness of either Negro or white, provided they can accomplish their own selfish purposes. But the grand secret of the separation, or rather of the separate existence of race is to be found in the love of the beautiful, that in-

stinctive and innate feeling wisely implanted by the Creator in us, will keep forever and ever the higher race always distinctive from the inferior ones.

Man, even savage man will stop to gaze at a beautiful statue or picture, and the fair haired white Caucasian woman has been always sought as a wife by every race ; while on the other hand the white race of men have drawn back in disgust from anything like general intermingling with the females of the inferior races. So long as this feeling exists, all attempts at establishing an equality of races is silly ; nay more, it is wicked. If the Negro is equal to the white why do not the Negro-maniacs produce the names of such negroes as have become eminent for any one great quality in art, science, literature, or in any other way ; this cannot be done, and the abolitionists know it.

From the evidence laid down in the preceding pages, it is proven that the constitution of the white man is not adapted to out-door labor in the Southern States. As such is the fact, would it be politic to abandon the rice, cotton, tobacco, and sugar plantations to the negroes, place them upon terms of political equality with the whites, allow an ignorant, brutal, and degraded race to perpetrate crimes and excesses similar to what were enacted in Hayti? This will never be tolerated by white men—by Americans.

The destiny of the negro when among the whites in tropical climes is slavery ; and would it not be well that those slaves who, according to Jacob Om-

nium, are worked under the lash eighteen hours in Cuba, by the Spaniard, that their destiny were changed—that the mild system of slavery in practice in the Southern States were introduced into Cuba, or that Cuba fell into the possession of the United States, would not the physical condition of the African be made better by this change?

I need hardly state here that all my quotations are given fairly and in the spirit of the author. I did “nothing extenuate, nor aught set down in malice,” and I beg of the reader where he has the opportunity to refer to the various authors cited by me, to do so, in order that he may arrive at a thorough knowledge of the history of the Negro, for upon this knowledge depends the durability of our republican institutions. If it be true that the Negro is our equal, and that we enslave him, then are we acting unjustly, and the day of retribution will certainly come; but if it will be found upon investigation that he is naturally the white man’s inferior, and that he alone is capable of undergoing tropical labor, then his proper place is in subjection to his natural master. The more this question is discussed, the more certain is it to be decided against Negro equality.

The Negro-maniacs cannot say that I have been partial in my quotations. I have been sparing and chary of using Southern authors, preferring to use Northern or European ones. Lawrence, Smith, Knox, Murray, and Cardinal Wiseman cannot be accused of pandering to Southern prejudices, nor can the great Cuvier; yet who dare to say anything

in favor of Negroism after having read them. Morton, English, Conrad, Brown, and other Northern men are equally emphatic in proving this universal law—a law established by nature, and exhibited before us every day of our lives.

Should this volume be favorably received it will give me much satisfaction; should it not, I console myself with the reflection that one hundred years hence it will matter little. I have said what I thought, and spoken what I felt, regardless of consequences; believing, as I do, in the language of the Apostle, "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."

THE END.

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I am, with high respect, yours &c.

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With a sincere wish that your labors may meet with an ample reward, I am yours, truly,

ELLIS LEWIS."

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"Pittsburg, October 2, 1850.

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Very respectfully your obedient servant,

R. COULTER."

Opinion of the Hon. Robert C. Grier, Associate Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States.

"Philadelphia, October 9, 1850.

I have examined "McKinney's American Magistrate" with some attention. It contains a valuable summary of the principles of law affecting criminal prosecutions, together with forms of process and of proceedings in summary convictions, which will be found useful to every practitioner of the law, and especially to justices of the peace, and all magistrates exercising criminal jurisdiction, whether under State laws or the statutes of the United States.

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C. GRIER."

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